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MR. AND MRS. HERBERT HOOVER FRONTISPIECE

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**MR. AND MRS. HERBERT HOOVER, IN THE GARDEN
OF THEIR WASHINGTON HOME**

The Secretary of Commerce on February 12 announced his decision to permit his name to be entered in the Republican presidential primary of Ohio; and it was understood that similar action would also be taken in at least eight other States during March, April, and May. He has completed seven years in his present office, in the Cabinets of Mr. Harding and Mr. Coolidge, and had served also in important administrative posts by appointment of Mr. Wilson. Mr. Hoover was born in Iowa in 1874, was graduated from Leland Stanford University in California in 1895, and has since maintained his residence there. An extensive mining career, largely in foreign fields, occupied him up to the outbreak of war in Europe. During the war and afterward he was conspicuously successful as relief administrator in Belgium, Russia, and several countries in Central Europe; and while the United States was a belligerent he served as Food Administrator at Washington.

The American Review of Reviews

March
1928

The Progress of the World

BY ALBERT SHAW

The Problem of Curbing the Mississippi It will soon be a year since the greatest of Mississippi River floods began its devastating work. Critical conditions were noted in the months of March and April. The disaster was not a swift and sudden occurrence like the Vermont floods of early November. Nor did it resemble the catastrophe that overtook the beautiful Miami Valley of Ohio in March and April, 1913, which occupied approximately ten days before the rapid subsidence of the inundating torrents. So vast is the area that was affected by the overflow of the Mississippi River and its principal tributaries that the lower valley had full warning and was able to keep the loss of life at relatively low figures. But the property loss, direct and resultant, will probably have amounted to half a billion dollars. Much of the richest part of this lower valley has been formed by alluvial deposits in past ages, and so lies that it is susceptible to overflow. At normal stages, the Mississippi River has a definite channel. But in seasons of unusual rainfall throughout the whole or large parts of the area between the Alleghenies and the Rockies, the river has always claimed its right to a vast expansion. Then it covers wide stretches of swamp lands, of low-lying forests, and of what are now fields of cotton and corn brought into cultivation for the most part within the past hundred years. The flood of 1927 caused the temporary abandonment of farm lands, and of many towns and villages that served agricultural districts. As in the regions of France and Belgium, devastated

by the Great War, there was a condition of forced though temporary depopulation.

France Is Rebuilding in Security

During the decade now almost completed since the signing of the Armistice, there has been expended for the restoration of French farm lands and the partial rebuilding of towns and villages a sum of money running into the tens of billions of francs. The whole world has been looking on at this process of restoration, in a belt stretching from the North Sea to the edges of Switzerland, with sympathetic interest. Americans have in various ways shown their friendly appreciation of the scope of this task of rebuilding, to aid which reparations money has been justly claimed from Germany. France has been rebuilding with no apprehensions of further danger. With the settlements of the Versailles peace treaty and the subsequent Locarno agreements, and with France and Germany working together in the League of Nations, there is no reason to fear another invasion. The winter wheat is now green, and the alfalfa and clover are flourishing in fertile fields of France where ten years ago there were thousands of miles of trenches and hundreds of thousands of great shell holes. There is nothing to give the returned refugees of that war zone any dread of a recurrence of bombardment. Americans, like the rest of the world, fully understand the reasonableness of those French policies that have been putting security above all other considerations.

*Security Also
First Need
of Our Valley*

Why, then, should any Americans of ordinary intelligence fail to realize that several millions of their fellow citizens, living in the southern half of our great Central Valley, are also thinking of security as the prime consideration in public policies that are essential to their welfare? It is not necessary to use comparative financial statistics to show by how much the Mississippi floods of 1927 were in their effects a less costly disaster than that which befell the war zone in France. The thing understood in the South—and so widely forgotten in the North—is simply this: another flood of equal dimensions might occur in this very year 1928. Or it might occur in 1930, or in 1940. If another such flood should inundate the South in the near future, it might cause the virtual abandonment for a long time to come of a large area of the richest soil in the United States. This would mean the migration and reestablishment elsewhere of hundreds of thousands of people. Until security is provided, there will be dread; and such suspense is costly. There have been courage and faith on the part of the flood sufferers; but they need the tonic of vigorous action at Washington.



THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI STATES ARE ASKING
A PERTINENT QUESTION

From the Item (New Orleans, La.)

*Ohio's
Excellent
Example*

The flood in the Miami Valley of Ohio brought serious damage to towns and farms in a rich and highly developed region. There was anxiety for the future. At great expense, but with firm determination, and without undue delay, a way was found to guard against a recurrence of the danger. Engineering works were undertaken which have made due provision for the diversion of flood water. If these works had not been executed, the people of the Miami Valley would have been alarmed with the coming of every spring freshet. The value of their property would have been permanently depressed. There would have been a cloud always hovering over their region. Their lack of a sense of assured safety would have operated as a perpetual handicap. The Miami Conservancy system has cost them millions of dollars, but it has brought them relief from foreboding of a particular kind, and has contributed much to the further prosperity of such centers of industry and civilization as Dayton, Springfield, Hamilton, and many other places, larger and smaller, along the Miami River. Much, also, has been learned by the experience of building control works along the Ohio River and its head-waters.

*Vermont's
Assured
Recovery*

The people of Vermont at this time, like those of Southern Ohio in 1913, are aware that their problems of flood control are local rather than national. They are not as wealthy as their relatives and friends in the Buckeye State, but they are not lacking in the same high spirit; and indeed their courage and capacity are quite equal to almost any emergency. No matter how large a sum of money Vermont might wish to borrow to carry out engineering works for protection against a recurrence of the recent floods, with an increased utilization of waterpower for the service of farms and towns, the investment market would respond with alacrity. The very name of Vermont carries with it high credit. Considering the facts of this Vermont storm in relation to wealth and population, the disaster was one of the most severe that have ever been visited upon any American State or district. The State will be justified in carrying out a series of projects that will relieve anxiety, while contributing actually to the industrial and agricultural wealth of the State.

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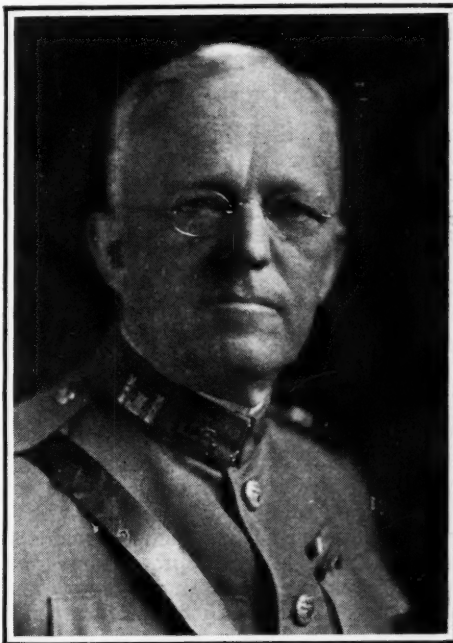
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**Our Foremost
National
Task and Duty**

By way of contrast, the problem of the Mississippi Valley is national rather than local. That river system drains a large number of States; and the prosperity of the Mississippi Valley as a whole is of the utmost consequence not only to every portion of the valley itself, but to all other parts of the republic from coast to coast. The cotton and various products of the lower Mississippi Valley form a large item in the annual wealth realizations of the United States. The success of that area in its agriculture and other enterprises determines the purchasing power of some millions of people. The textile mills of the Atlantic slope from New England to the Carolinas would be at once affected in two ways if the lower Mississippi Valley should suffer from recurrent floods. In the first place, they would lose that increment of the cotton supply that prevents scarcity and keeps the price of cotton normal. In the second place, they would suffer from the lack of purchasing power of the impoverished people. An immense variety of industries of all kinds would experience loss if the lower Mississippi Valley should fail permanently as a consuming market. It is not necessary to elaborate this argument in order to show how clearly the problem of flood control in all of its larger aspects is one that concerns the entire country. It is, in fact, to-day, our foremost national task.

**Congress Was
Expected to Act
Promptly**

During the period when, through the Red Cross and other agencies, the people of the United States were contributing some sixteen millions of dollars for emergency relief in the flooded Southern areas, there was only one opinion as to what the Seventieth Congress would do when its opening session began in the first week of December. There had been a tremendous demand for a special session of the new Congress several months earlier than the regular date, in order that large appropriations might be voted for immediate relief, and also especially for permanent control works. It was argued in return, however, that nothing would be gained by calling an extra session, because a few weeks more time would be required to secure a thoroughgoing report upon the best engineering plans. This was the opinion of President Coolidge, and also, it is understood, of Secretary Hoover. That the necessity would be met in a large and com-

**MAJOR GENERAL EDGAR JADWIN**

As Chief of Engineers in the United States Army, General Jadwin last summer and fall made an extensive study of Mississippi River flood problems, and rendered a report which the President submitted to Congress early in December. It was estimated then that flood control would cost \$300,000,000.

prehensive way, and without delay or tedious debate, was not doubted in any quarter. Never was American public opinion more clearly agreed, or more intelligently unanimous. But last month, with reason, the lower South was becoming increasingly anxious because the present session, well advanced in its third month, had been wasting time in wordy Senate debates in view of an approaching presidential campaign, and had been showing some lack of capacity to deal in a statesmanlike way with pressing issues like flood control.

**Engineers
Report
on Plans**

The engineers had reported their plan for Mississippi control; and about some parts of this plan there may have been reason for differences of opinion. But about much of it there could be no reasonable doubts. Plans of work to be done are of such a character that a beginning could be made at once with subsequent details to be adjusted as the immense task progresses. It was of course to be supposed that President Coolidge would accept on its face the report

of the engineers. These experts are unquestionably competent to give advice as to dikes, levees, floodways and spillways, and whatever else belongs to construction and maintenance of a requisite system of public works. Also, they may be regarded as competent to make a general estimate of the cost of the works that they propose. But it does not follow that they are to be regarded as authoritative on the question how the money is to be raised, or who is to pay the bills.

** Financial Aspects*

There might be one large national issue of Mississippi Valley Improvement bonds; and this would be analogous to the Panama Canal bonds of the Roosevelt Administration. If such a loan were authorized, bonds could be issued and sold as the money was needed from time to time. Another plan, not so desirable in our opinion, would be that of direct Treasury appropriations from year to year as the work went on. The engineers, on some estimate or theory not understood by the public, reported that 80 per cent. of the cost of the project they favored should be borne by the Government of the United States, and 20 per cent. by States or localities immediately affected. In our opinion, this was an unfortunate recommendation. On February 16 the House Committee reported in favor of a comprehensive national policy, at an estimated cost of \$473,000,000.

This Is Uncle Sam's Affair

The problem should first be defined, and then undertaken wholly as a national one. Doubtless there would be subsidiary undertakings of a local sort that would be carried out on local responsibility. It is stated in a convincing discussion of the subject by Mr. James M. Thompson of New Orleans that States and localities hitherto have spent \$292,000,000 of their own money on control works, while the Washington Government has spent only \$71,000,000. Projects of control involve also some questions of land reclamation. It would seem entirely possible for the Government to proceed at once with the more essential undertaking, about which everybody is agreed. The further study of plans can well be carried on, with decisions as to various complicated matters of related detail to be reached in the future. The House bill seems to meet the situation.

No Party Is Now in Power

It cannot be said that the present Congress has been idle or indifferent to the public welfare; but its energies have been expended in a chaotic fashion, and it has been able to do almost nothing in an orderly and conclusive way. This results chiefly from the fact that there is no clear and definite party control. The Republican majority in the House is not very large, while the Senate, though nominally Republican, is wholly controlled by a coalition of Democrats and Northwestern Insurgents. This is well illustrated by a test vote of January 16. On that date, by a vote of 54 to 34, the Senate adopted a resolution declaring that many existing tariff schedules are excessive, and proposing that immediate downward revision should be considered and enacted during the present session of Congress. Forty-one Democratic Senators and thirteen so-called Progressives, including Shipstead, the Farmer-Labor Senator from Minnesota, cast the fifty-four majority votes. No regular Republican supported the resolution.

Tariff Talk Merely Obstructive

It is well known that if the Democrats carry the elections next November, bringing in a Democratic President and a Democratic House, they will proceed to revise the tariff, just as they did sixteen years ago after the election of Woodrow Wilson. But it is equally well known that it would be impossible to make a general revision of the tariff at this time with a Republican President, a Republican House, and a Coalition Senate. Thus the adoption of the McMaster resolution merely illustrated the painful difficulty of avoiding futilities and of doing real business in the present session.

Tax Reduction and the Senate

On the very opening day of the session, December 4, the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives was ready with its tax reduction bill, which it duly presented to Congress and the country. Eleven days later, on December 15, after making numerous and important amendments, the House passed a reduction bill by a vote of 366 to 24. This meant a practical compromise which shaped a bill that secured the approval of virtually the whole Democratic as well as Republican membership. Speaking almost exactly two months later, namely, on February 13, at the Lincoln Dinner of the National Repub-

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lican Club in New York City, Speaker Longworth called attention to the party situation in the Senate and declared that the tax reduction bill, like the Mississippi control project, was showing little progress. He could see no prospect of early action. He said that there was danger that the Senate would insist upon attaching its tariff revision proposals to the taxation bill. This of course would make agreement between the two houses difficult.

*A
Possible
Veto*

Furthermore, even if agreement should be reached on some compromise basis, the resultant bill might be so distasteful to President Coolidge and Secretary Mellon that it would confront a probable veto. The President has insisted that a tax reduction bill should not make a cut of more than \$225,000,000. The bill that passed the House provides a cut of about \$290,000,000. It is believed in certain Republican quarters that there would be advantage in holding back the bill in the Senate until after March 15, when the payment of income taxes throughout the country for the year 1927 would afford better data upon which to estimate the size of the revenue surplus. Taxes ought to be reduced if possible, but there are reasons of sound finance for making sure that income will suffice to meet necessary expenditures.

*Refusal to
Seat Smith
of Illinois*

The Senate occupied many valuable days debating the question whether or not to accept the credentials of Senator-elect Smith of Illinois and Senator-elect Vare of Pennsylvania. A committee investigating campaign expenditures, with Senator Reed of Missouri its chief worker, had reported adversely to the seating of these two men, although each of them was elected by a large plurality of the voters of his State, and each had come to Washington with proper credentials. The case of Mr. Frank L. Smith was dealt with first. Senator Deneen of Illinois and Senator Reed of Pennsylvania fought in vain to secure the seating of Smith. By a vote of 61 to 23, on January 19, the seat was declared vacant. The fact that Smith in the campaign for nomination had been aided by a fund approaching half a million dollars had been duly disclosed long in advance of the election itself. The people of Illinois, knowing all about the financial and personal backing of

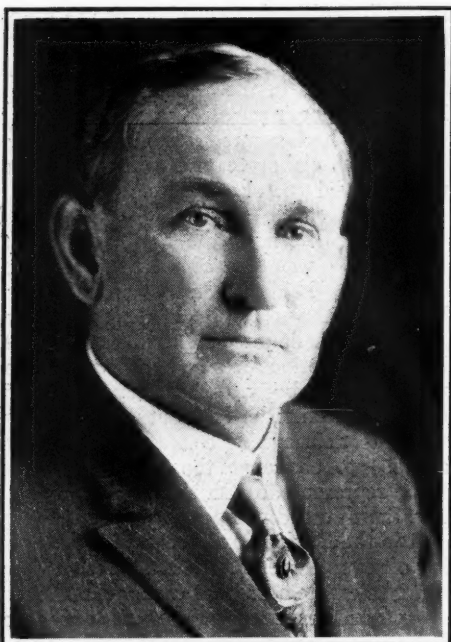
Frank L. Smith, chose to elect him as Senator. The question at Washington turned upon the Constitutional right of a State to be represented in the Senate by a man of its own choice, regardless of the means by which he had secured his election. The debate was elaborate and able authorities were arrayed upon both sides.

*Certain
Legal
Questions*

Perhaps the better argument was that of the Senators who held that Smith was entitled to his seat on the face of his credentials. The Senate had undoubted right to expel him at its own discretion after he had been made a member of the body. Obviously they could not expel him if he had not been seated; while to refuse him a seat was (it was argued) to challenge the right of Illinois to be represented. On the admitted facts, Mr. Smith could not possibly have held his seat in the British Parliament. After a delay of several weeks, Mr. Smith resigned in order to create a definite vacancy, and then Governor Small of Illinois at once, on February 9, appointed this same Frank L. Smith as United States Senator to fill the vacancy. Forthwith it became the duty of the Senate to decide, all over again, whether Mr. Smith should be given a seat. Meanwhile, it was announced that Mr. Smith would again be a candidate in the Republican primaries, expecting confidently to be elected to the Senate by the voters of Illinois in November, with the powerful support of the Illinois Republican machine dominated by Governor Small and Mayor Thompson of Chicago. At this juncture, it would be of little avail to comment further.

*The Case of
Vare of
Pennsylvania*

Senator-elect Vare's credentials, which were also referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, are to be dealt with along a different line. It was alleged by Senator Reed's investigating committee not only that excessive sums of money had been spent on Mr. Vare's behalf, but also that there had been election frauds perpetrated and false returns made. The Democratic nominee for the Senate was the Hon. William B. Wilson, and he has entered a contest for the seat on the ground that Vare's credentials are not the result of an honest election. After some delay, it was decided to appoint a sub-committee to make an investigation of election facts, and to examine ballots in certain Pennsylvania



HON. JOSEPH T. ROBINSON OF ARKANSAS

Floor Leader of the Democrats in the Senate and a "favorite son" of his State.

counties. It would appear likely that many weeks will yet elapse before the Vare contest is settled. This form of procedure will for a time deprive the State of Pennsylvania of one of its two seats in the Senate. Many legal and technical questions are involved. Fundamentally, of course, the questions at stake have to do with clean and honest political methods. The great States of Pennsylvania and Illinois could each produce a score of men whose fitness to serve with honor and with ability in the United States Senate would be recognized everywhere. It is incumbent upon both parties to bring forward their best men for high positions.

The Heflin Episode

It is regrettable that the Senate should give so much of its time to long speeches that are not relevant to the business on the calendar. Any Senator, by giving notice that he wishes to speak, may air his views upon any conceivable topic for as many hours as may suit his purpose. Senator Heflin of Alabama was thus consuming time that should have been devoted to public business when he occupied the Senate floor for a political

harangue against Governor Smith on religious grounds. The outburst had no obvious bearing upon pending bills. If Mr. Heflin thought it his duty to make such a speech, he should have found his platform and his occasion elsewhere. Such episodes do not happen in the House of Representatives under existing rules. Mr. Heflin was reproved by the Democratic Floor Leader, Mr. Robinson of Arkansas. There followed Mr. Heflin's demand that his colleague should be superseded as Floor Leader. A caucus of Democratic Senators was held accordingly, and the leadership of Senator Robinson was confirmed by a vote of thirty-five to one.

Senator Swanson on Franchise Laws

At times there are elaborate discourses made by Senators which are in a broad sense pertinent to the course of legislative business, even though not narrowly related to a particular bill. The question of enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act has in certain quarters been coupled with that of the enforcement of other constitutional provisions. It has been charged that the South, which is strongly for prohibition and the Eighteenth Amendment, is unwilling to submit to the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Senator Swanson recently endeavored to show, in an exhaustive review of facts and court decisions, that the Amendments under which Negroes became fully enfranchised citizens of the United States are not violated by the present suffrage laws of the States of the South. Whatever might be said about the actual political status of the colored people of the South, the Virginia Senator's address of January 23 made it plain enough that there is no possible reason for linking together a discussion of the franchise question and the prohibition question.

Steps in Negro Progress

People seeking the franchise in the State of New York are now required to be able to read the English language, and to show some intelligence about our form of government. This is no hardship for anybody, whether white or colored, native or foreign-born. In the Southern States there are various restrictions having to do with educational or property qualifications, or with the payment of poll taxes. Such regulations are permissible, and in the long run they harm nobody. It is wholly to the advantage of

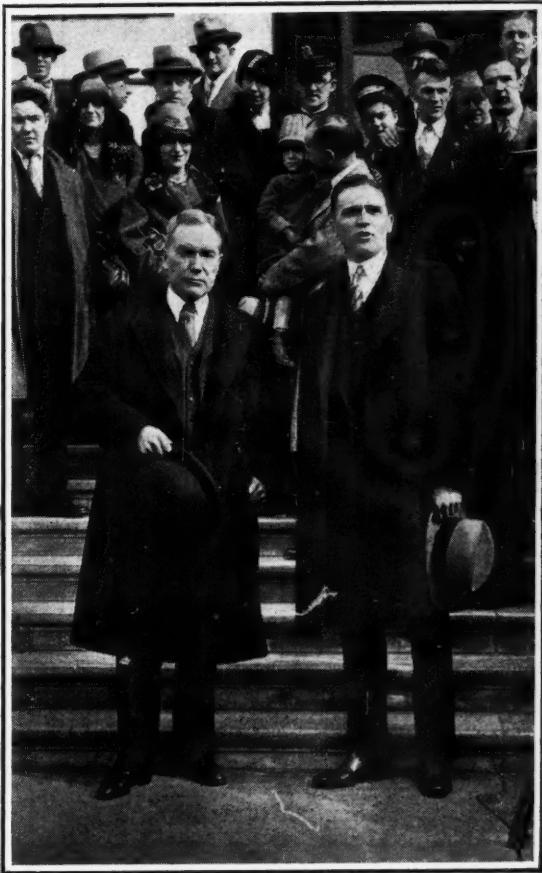
the colored people themselves that they should first secure educational, social, and economic advancement. The important fact is that the South is providing better negro schools, at an extraordinary rate of increase in expenditures and of improvement in facilities. It is also true that there are no restrictions upon Negro landholding, or the safe acquisition of property, and that there are good wages everywhere for willing workers. States that are educating their illiterates, and that are turning the poverty of the laboring classes into relative affluence, are taking the steps most fundamental toward the ultimate full observance in letter as well as in spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The Oil Scandals

It is true that the further investigation of the so-called oil scandals by the committee in which Senator Walsh of Montana plays the chief rôle is, as showmen would say, no part of the circus in the big tent but is carried on as a side entertainment. In the newspapers, however, it has taken so much space that it has obscured the movement of regular business in both Houses. Many weeks ago, the trial of Messrs. Fall and Sinclair on criminal charges relating to the naval oil leases was approaching its climax. It came to a sudden end because of reports that there had been attempts to tamper with one or more jurors. It has become almost impossible to follow the various proceedings that have ensued in the attempt to deal with these charges of jury-tampering and witness-bribing. Popular interest in those proceedings has virtually faded out.

Another Turn to the Inquiry

Meanwhile, however, the Senate Committee under Mr. Nye's chairmanship whose activities had resulted in the successful civil trials to restore the naval oil lands to the Government, and which had brought about the criminal actions against Messrs. Fall and Sinclair, have discovered a wholly new field for sensational exploration. Certain bonds that had been carried from New



MR. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., AND SENATOR NYE, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING OIL SCANDALS

Mr. Gerald P. Nye, at the right, is a Republican serving his third year, only, as a United States Senator. He came into public office from the midst of a successful newspaper career in North Dakota.

York to Colorado and placed in a bank for Mr. Fall's benefit (his son-in-law acting as messenger) were identified as being part of a fund of \$3,000,000 accruing from a mysterious transaction. The United States Supreme Court, in deciding upon the civil suits, had referred to circumstances connected with that fund as pointing to some kind of fraud or impropriety. A Canadian company had been formed for the temporary purpose of enabling men in control of certain oil companies to go through the form of buying and selling an agreed quantity of crude oil in such a way as to result immediately in producing a profit fund of \$3,000,000. Contracts to buy at \$1.50 a barrel and to sell at \$1.75, had been made

applicable to a sufficient quantity of crude oil to yield the desired sum. Apparently this segregated profit had been at once invested in Liberty bonds, which in turn had been tied up in a series of equal parcels at a Canadian bank and mysteriously distributed.

What Was Done with the Bonds? Senator Walsh's Committee has been trying to find out what was done with those

bonds. It seems that an amount somewhat less than \$300,000 had been carried to Mr. Fall. It was disclosed in February that an amount equal to \$800,000 had been held for several years by a certain oil man who before his death had turned it all over to his oil company as properly belonging to that corporation instead of to himself. Colonel Robert W. Stewart, Chairman of the Board of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, was examined by the Committee, but refused to answer questions. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who represents holdings in the Standard of Indiana, appeared before the Committee with every desire to help solve the mystery. He explained that he fully believed Colonel Stewart's statement that he had received no personal benefit from the fund of the Continental Trading Company; but he said further that in spite of his urgent pleading Colonel Stewart had thought it incumbent upon him not to reveal certain facts in his possession.

Campaign Debts of 1920 and Oil Money It may as well be said that for a good while there have been constant rumors in political circles to the effect that a considerable part of the mysterious fund had been used to pay off the heavy indebtedness that was burdening the National Republican Committee after the election of President Harding in 1920. It is not denied that Mr. Sinclair made very large contributions when efforts were being made to wipe out this indebtedness. It is alleged that some of the same bonds that had formed part of the Continental fund had been traced, in a roundabout way, to the treasury of the Republican National Committee. It does not follow of course that the successive heads of that committee were even aware of the existence of the Continental Trading Company's fund. There is a theory, also, that some, if not many, of the people whose names are listed as having contributed toward the payment of the campaign debt

had allowed their names to be used as giving specified sums, although they had not actually provided the money. Further, it has been suggested that some of the fund went to relieve Democratic obligations. It is not necessary to believe in the truth of all these rumors. The Senate Committee was endeavoring, as it found new clues in February, to seek an answer to whatever further questions had been raised.

Raising Political Funds

It may be remembered that as chairman of the Campaign Committee in 1920, Mr. Will Hays had tried to fix a limit of \$1,000 upon contributions. He thought expenditures should be met by the Republican party at large and not by a few rich men and corporations. Unquestionably Mr. Hays stood for honest politics and open methods; but a Republican national campaign is usually expensive, and the method of popular subscription did not produce the desired revenues. If it can now be shown that mysterious oil deals, in which Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Fall were more or less involved, were invented in order to help the Republican party balance its books, the facts will not be palatable for certain Republican politicians as we approach another campaign.

The Truth Will Help. All Around

Nevertheless, a frank and full disclosure of all the facts will now do the Republican party much more good than harm. The refusal of men like Colonel Stewart to testify, and the protracted absence in Europe of one or two men who had most to do with the Continental deal, can no longer avail to provide valuable shelter for any interests or individuals. Neither of the great parties as such is corrupt, or is seeking to win success by dishonest methods or for improper purposes. But a constant struggle is necessary to keep the political current free from contamination. Every experienced student of affairs knows that as between parties honesty has no chief sponsor. It might even be shown that certain hidden transactions that are now quite likely to be disclosed may have been more foolish than they were corrupt, although nothing could be further from our inclination than to find excuses for them. We agree with Mr. Rockefeller that Colonel Stewart was not justified in refusing to answer the proper questions of the Committee.

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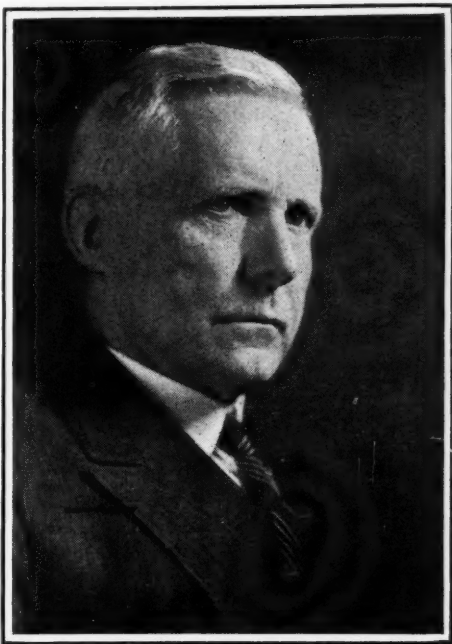
It is not easy to foretell the possible effect of various investigations upon presidential nominations and election results. Pre-eminent as investigators have been Senator Reed of Missouri and Senator Walsh of Montana. Mr. Reed is a candidate for the Democratic nomination. It was his activity in part that kept Smith of Illinois out of the Senate and created the Vare dilemma. His slogan for the campaign would be "turn the rascals out"; but everyone knows that the present Coolidge Administration is not made up of rascals, but rather of scrupulously honest men who are also exceedingly capable and patriotic. The Republican party as a whole is not to be held responsible for political conditions in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, or any other great town of mixed population. Senator Walsh is regarded as a receptive candidate for the presidency, and he has been demanding that the Senate authorize him to proceed with a drag-net investigation of power companies and public utility corporations. There is perhaps no sufficiently clear reason for such an investigation. The Senate, on February 15, however, voted to instruct the Federal Trade Commission to conduct the inquiry, which plan disappoints Mr. Walsh.

*Walsh
as
Inquisitor*

As an inquisitor, Mr. Walsh is without a living equal; and no one will deny that good results, both in business practice and in politics, are likely to follow his exposures of dubious transactions. But we have experienced a good deal of the kind of delving that Senator Reed and Senator Walsh carry on so irresistibly. The country is not, indeed, asking that guilt should be shielded or that wrongdoers should be exonerated. Nevertheless, there are great constructive undertakings that must occupy the Government; and the country as it looks forward is seeking not so much to be chastened for its misdeeds as to be led with hope and enthusiasm along the paths of constructive effort.

*Hoover,
Willis, and
Ohio*

It is quite possible that this feeling goes far to explain what is now evident in the strength of the movement among Republicans for the nomination of Mr. Hoover. In the popular mind, the name Hoover is associated with positive achievement in one direction or another. His probable candidacy had been inferred; but what was ex-



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HON. JAMES A. REED OF MISSOURI

Senator Reed has been representing his State in the upper house at Washington for seventeen years, with increasing prestige and esteem. His legal training has proved to be of great service in recent investigations.

pected became assured when on Monday, February 13, there appeared a letter addressed by him to Colonel Thad H. Brown of Ohio permitting his name to be entered in the presidential primaries of that State. Senator Willis had been endorsed as Ohio's candidate by the State Republican Committee, and had expected to enter the Kansas City convention with the solid strength of Ohio's delegation. The Willis campaign manager is Col. Carmi A. Thompson. The Ohio discord was in part due to the insistence of Mr. Willis and his friends that the Ohio delegates should not be released from obligations, as the balloting progressed in the convention, until Mr. Willis himself gave consent. This was not agreeable to eminent Republicans like the Hon. Theodore Burton of Cleveland. In the middle of February Mr. Maschke, the Ohio National Committeeman, left the Willis camp, announcing his support of Secretary Hoover as being in accord with what seemed to him a prevailing sentiment. Mr. Willis is a strong campaigner; and the Hoover invasion of Ohio will be vigorously if not bitterly contested. It seems likely that



HON. FRANK B. WILLIS OF OHIO

The favorite son of Ohio Republicans in this Presidential year, Mr. Willis has the advantage of being a vigorous and successful campaigner with a long period of public service to his credit. He has been a member of the General Assembly of Ohio, a representative in Congress, Governor, and United States Senator since January, 1921.

the courtesies of the "favorite-son tradition" will be disregarded not alone in Ohio. The primary election in that State will occur on April 24. Mr. Hoover's letter endorsed the Coolidge policies in general terms, but it was brief and not intended to serve as a platform.

*Lowden in
His Own
Domain*

The contest in Illinois at the presidential primaries will be settled on April 10. The Illinois primary law is a new one, enacted last July. Mr. Lowden is probably stronger in Iowa and some other Western States than in his home territory, where his statesmanship is not in precise accord with the exacting standards of Mayor Thompson, Governor Small, and their followers. But perhaps the cohorts of William Hale Thompson will like Lowden better than Hoover, whom they have been in the habit of stigmatizing as an Englishman. Mr. Lowden deserves well of Illinois, upon which State he confers honor as its foremost citizen. Some people have forgotten that he was the unanimous first choice of the Republican party for the Vice-Presidency only four years ago.

*Candidates
Now Get the
Head-lines*

Evidently the grand old American game of presidential politics is going to be interesting enough this year to claim attention, even from the devotees of baseball heroes, of movie actresses, and of famous defendants in trials for murder or divorce. For the next few months, even President Coolidge, who refuses further political honors, must yield something of popular interest to such first-class celebrities as Al Smith and Hoover. There remains only one man in the United States who can now compete with presidential candidates in claim upon our attention, and that is the incomparable young American, Col. Charles A. Lindbergh. But perhaps our readers would like to be reminded about the dates of presidential primaries. First comes New Hampshire, on March 13. North Dakota follows on March 20. Michigan comes next, April 2. The next day Wisconsin votes and a week later, April 10, come Illinois and Nebraska.

*Voting
for One's
Favorite*

On April 24, in the three important States of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, the voters have their chance to express their preference. The May primaries follow with California on May 1, Maryland May 7, Indiana May 8, New Jersey May 15, Oregon May 18, South Dakota May 22, West Virginia May 29. Only one State has a later presidential primary, namely, Florida, on June 5. Other States do not provide for this method of testing the presidential views of the voters, and of electing delegates. It is enough to say that while these primaries will be interesting and significant, such results in seventeen States are not likely to afford conclusive indications of what the Republican convention at Kansas City will do after it convenes on June 12.

*Prohibition
Challenges
Democracy*

The Democrats will not permit themselves this year to evade the prohibition question by tacit agreement. The elements that brought Governor Smith to the front in the Madison Square Garden Convention of 1924 were for the most part aggressive and outspoken enemies of the Volstead Act. Governor Smith was upheld as the chosen leader of the movement to secure a change in the national law. Expressed briefly, the particular change desired was the one that secured overwhelming support in the New York State referendum. Not to put it technically, the

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*Gov. Smith
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proposal was to allow each State to determine for itself what was meant by the term "intoxicating liquors" in the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It is obvious that beverages of a non-intoxicating character are not prohibited.

*Gov. Smith
Favors
a Change*

It is argued, therefore, that the States should be allowed to decide for themselves what percentage of alcohol renders a drink intoxicating. The Volstead Act fixes the limit at one-half of one per cent. Those in New York who favor modification of this act have been committed to an alcoholic percentage of something less than 3 per cent. Governor Smith, according to reports last month, was formulating his views upon various questions about which a presidential candidate is expected to know his own mind. It is further reported that Mr. Smith stands firmly and without apology for his belief that the Volstead Act ought to be modified, and that the States ought to be given a much greater latitude in dealing with the situation created by the Eighteenth Amendment. It is to be remembered that forty-six of the forty-eight States (Connecticut and Rhode Island being the only exceptions) ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, and there is no practical movement on foot to repeal it or to change it. The immediate program of the so-called Wets is concerning itself with the Volstead Act.

*Mr. McAdoo's
Enforcement
Plan*

Congress last month was voting increased appropriations for the enforcement of prohibition. There was little evidence at Washington of any disposition to relax such effort. The amendment is likely to remain as it stands for a long time to come; and the real issue will in all likelihood turn upon enforcement plans and methods. It should be a matter, therefore, of unusual interest to our readers that we are presenting in this number of the REVIEW an article by Hon. William G. McAdoo upon this very question of enforcement, giving reasons for his conviction that a better method might well be adopted. Holding that enforcement belongs to localities as properly as to the national Government, Mr. McAdoo would relegate enforcement activities chiefly to State agencies, to local police and to local courts and prosecutors. Federal activities would be concerned with smug-



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HON. WILLIAM G. McADOO, WHO IS STILL A LEADER OF THE "DRY" DEMOCRATS

gling, with interstate traffic, and the larger sphere of oversight and control. But to help localities bear the financial burden of enlarged police departments and of court proceedings, Mr. McAdoo would provide a plan of subsidies to the States out of the Federal Treasury. There is much to be said in favor of these views, and Mr. McAdoo sets forth his case impressively.

*Demands for
a "Dry"
Candidate*

Back of Mr. McAdoo's argument lies the great sentiment that pervades the Democratic party of the South (not to mention the West) which views prohibition as a permanent reform, to be safeguarded and cherished by high officials who are its friends rather than its enemies. We have sought the views of certain representatives of Southern opinion and we are presenting them in this number. Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Southern Methodist Church, is in a position to speak with authority upon the prohibition attitude of the Southern Protestant churches. According to evidence that comes to him from various States, there is a firm demand for a dry candidate and for a Democratic policy of vigorous law enforcement. The men and



HON. CORDELL HULL

Lawyer, Spanish War veteran, judge, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Representative in Congress, and Tennessee's "dry" candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.



BISHOP JAMES CANNON, JR.

Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, chairman of the legislative committee of the Anti-Saloon League and executive committee of the World League Against Alcoholism.



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HON. WALTER F. GEORGE

Formerly Associate Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, United States Senator since 1922, and Georgia's "dry" candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination with other Southern Support.

women for whom Bishop Cannon reports are in no compromising mood. We are also publishing a letter from Mr. George Fort Milton, a widely known editor and publicist of Tennessee, who favors the nomination of the Hon. Cordell Hull of that State. Senator Glass, whose opinions were expressed in an article contributed to our issue of last May, informs us that his views remain unchanged as to the prohibition feeling in the South. We are publishing frank expressions from two eminent Southern educators whose views are typical and whose names it is unnecessary to disclose.

*Some
Southern
Preferences*

It is evident that there are many people in the South not yet prepared to admit that Governor Smith's nomination is fully assured in advance. Thus Senator George, of Georgia, a public man held in the highest esteem at Washington, is the chosen candidate of his own State, and will doubtless have additional support in the convention. Mr. Milton claims a good many votes for Cordell Hull. Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, who is presumably not thinking of himself as a candidate, would, if he were presented, find strong Democratic support, besides winning personal tributes from Republican leaders and newspapers. Some of our Southern friends would like to see the Solid South broken up; and they declare

that this is not going to be a Democratic year in any case. But about all that nobody can tell in advance.

*The Navy
Bugaboo*

The very idea that Uncle Sam should actually proceed to shape his navy in accordance with the ratios that everybody agreed upon in the Washington Conference of five years ago has been producing an amount of excitement that is surprising, even though understandable. The complete program of the most ambitious naval advocates at Washington is more modest than the program that we were already far advanced in carrying out when Mr. Hughes called that conference in 1922. From the standpoint of peace and order in the world, it is not advisable that any single naval power should assert supremacy on the common seas. It is best for all nations under present conditions that the American Navy should be equal to the British. In the long run this is more important for our British friends than it is for the United States. We have not the faintest cause of dispute with Great Britain. On the contrary, we have every reason to think in terms of full confidence and agreeable coöperation. So far as we are aware, there is not a single disagreeable question of any kind that Sir Esmé Howard at Washington is taking up with Secretary Kellogg.

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*Europe
Talks About
America*

Mr. Simonds, who is still in Europe, writes for us this month a remarkable paper on the intense interest that is shown across the Atlantic, all the way from England to Russia and the Balkans, in various evidences of the power and progress of the United States. Our Cartoon Department also indicates the continued disposition of the European press to be what an Englishman would term "rather nasty" in dealing with America. We may not like this very well, but there is nothing at present that we can do about it. At least it is pleasant to be able to say that there is no European, whether Englishman or Frenchman or Italian or German, who joins in saying any of these belittling things about the United States, if he happens to be at once a well-informed person and a decent human being. America comes far short of perfection; but it so happens that American standards and ideals are just a little higher than those of some of the European countries whose ignorant press is so irresponsibly insulting. Wise Americans find so much to admire and so much to give them pleasure in the historic countries of Europe that they do not feel like "talking back." Ours, after all, is a nation of comparatively recent European origins, and those aims and traditions which are bound up with our national life and character have in great part been brought here from Western Europe.

*A Transient
Era of
"Sea Power"*

When the German Navy was sunk at the end of the War, it was a signal to mark the beginning of a new era of maritime intercourse and of security for all peaceful users of the high seas. No country henceforth really needs a very large navy. But if any one country insists upon sailing the high seas (which belong equally to other folks) with vast fleets of swift and deadly war machines, it is essential in the interest of ultimate disarmament that a nation as wealthy as ours should maintain the balance. But for conditions that ought to be reformed, England would have no more need of a big navy than would Holland; and the United States would need only to patrol her own coastlines and to share in the protection of world commerce against pirates and marauders. There ought to be an international patrol fleet under the joint auspices of the League of Nations and the United States, expenses to be equitably distributed. "Sea power"

as a national object must some day be given up. May that time come before long!

*Not a Very
Alarming
Program*

As for the naval program at Washington, it seems very large merely because the Admirals and the navy officials have been talking in aggregates of a ten-year or a twenty-year renewal scheme. If it costs a well-to-do family ten thousand dollars a year to live, it is apt to frighten a thrifty housewife if her husband suddenly proclaims that it is going to cost \$100,000 to run the home establishment for the next ten years! Such a navy building program as President Coolidge favors, considered in actual expenditure, year by year, is not large when one considers the magnitude of the interests that are affected. We have a navy, and are not yet ready to scrap it all. There is no apparent common sense in arguments against making it a little more up-to-date and efficient. Uncle Sam's great object in the world is to promote peace and human welfare. At the present time and for some years to come, a well-adapted American navy will serve the best interests of forty other nations as well as it will serve our own. Building must follow some sort of program.

*Two Great
Britons*

Within the month under our survey, Great Britain has lost two of the most eminent survivors of the recent war period. One was the Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Haig, who was rewarded with an Earldom and with many other marks of distinction. His was an old Scotch family, and he had risen steadily to high command in the army by ability and by unfailing trustworthiness. The whole nation joined the royal family and the Government in mourning his loss. The other eminent Briton was an Englishman, Herbert Henry Asquith, who had also been elevated to an Earldom as honors were distributed to the leaders of the war period. Mr. Asquith (for this familiar name of an eminent Commoner is more familiar than his title as Earl of Oxford and Asquith) made his way without advantages of birth or fortune. He was a scholar and orator in his student days at Oxford, and in due time as a barrister became one of the most eminent lawyers of his generation. In Parliament he was a Gladstonian Liberal who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and who succeeded Mr. Campbell Bannerman as Prime Minister. England entered the



THE LATE FIELD-MARSHAL
HAIG

The British Commander-in-Chief in the Great War was born in Scotland, June 19, 1861. He joined the Seventh Hussars in 1885 and spent some forty years in military service.



THE LATE EARL OF OXFORD
AND ASQUITH

The former Liberal Premier, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry Asquith, was born in Yorkshire in 1852 and retired from politics several years ago. His eloquence was unsurpassed.

war under his leadership. In the middle of the war period the amazing executive vigor of Mr. Lloyd George brought him to the headship of a non-partisan War Cabinet. It is to be regretted that Mr. Asquith had not found time to know North America well by travel and intimate contact; but, like almost every British statesman of first rank, of whatever party, he was not lacking in appreciation of the United States and Canada. Such Ambassadors as James Bryce, and such Secretaries of State as Elihu Root, were always sure of the confidence and support of such British premiers as Mr. Asquith. As an eloquent parliamentarian he was Gladstone's foremost successor.

*Qualities of
French
Statesmen*

In France they are soon to hold a general election. It is not probable that the existing coalition can be maintained after the new chamber is chosen. The strong man of the present Cabinet is the Premier, M. Poincaré. Associated with him is the brilliant M. Briand, Foreign Minister and European peacemaker. Holding similarly high rank in the Cabinet are Messrs. Herriot and Painlevé, both of whom are former Prime Ministers. These four gentlemen, and a number of others holding high rank in governmental circles, are not merely politicians or professional officeholders. Each of them is a great scholar, and a man of

literary or scientific eminence. In the thick of all their intense public activities during the past year or two, each one of them has found time to continue his special studies, and most of them have been writing books of notable authority and merit. French public men, as is too little understood, are trained in habits of industry. As a rule, they have done several hours of effective work in the early morning, before most American and British men of similar public standing have left their comfortable beds. M. Poincaré has reestablished the finances of France with an ability that has gained for him the temporary support of his political opponents. He is a Conservative, while Messrs. Briand and Herriot

are Socialists. In the coming elections, Socialists will lead, while extreme reactionists will take an aggressive part.

*The Canadian
Premier*

The British Empire has been brought to our attention of late by some friendly visits and some exchanges of courteous language. Secretary Kellogg, for example, has made a visit to Ottawa, returning on behalf of the Coolidge Administration the agreeable visits that Prime Minister Mackenzie King and the Governor-General, Viscount Willingdon, had made at Washington. There is no man to-day who better understands or who better expresses the spirit of harmony throughout the English-speaking world than Mr. Mackenzie King. Various addresses made by him, bearing upon Canada's relationship to the British Empire, to the United States, to the League of Nations, and to the Dominion's own present and future conditions, have been collected in a volume and published in Canada. This volume, to which the versatile Prime Minister perhaps attaches little importance, is a preëminent contribution to the literature of politics and diplomacy. Nothing else has so well set forth the theory and practice of the new "British Commonwealth of Nations." We have reason to be exceedingly proud of having a neighbor so far in the forefront of the world's political and

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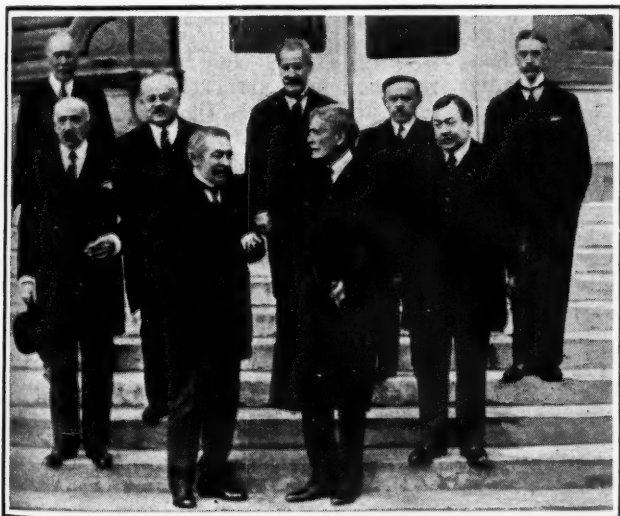
Sir Esme Howard Greets His Associates In a brief address recently made by the British Ambassador, Sir Esme Howard, a theory of the British Empire was expressed that is in perfect accord with the views of Mr. Mackenzie King. Never was an Ambassador more competent than Sir Esme Howard, and never was one whose words of wisdom were more charmingly free from every aspect of pretentiousness or self-importance. When President Cosgrave of Ireland made his brief visit to the United States last month, he was entertained as cordially by Sir Esme Howard as by the Irish Minister, Professor Smiddy. Mr. Cosgrave brought such a cordial spirit that he was met in New York, Chicago, Washington and Philadel-



CANADA'S PRIME MINISTER ENTERTAINS OUR SECRETARY OF STATE

From left to right, the Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King, Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, and the American Minister at Ottawa, Mr. William Phillips.

phia with more elaborate greetings and greater honors than he had dreamed of receiving. He enjoyed President Coolidge's hospitality, and the receptions accorded him on the floors of the Senate and the House. It was a little visit well worth while for everybody concerned.

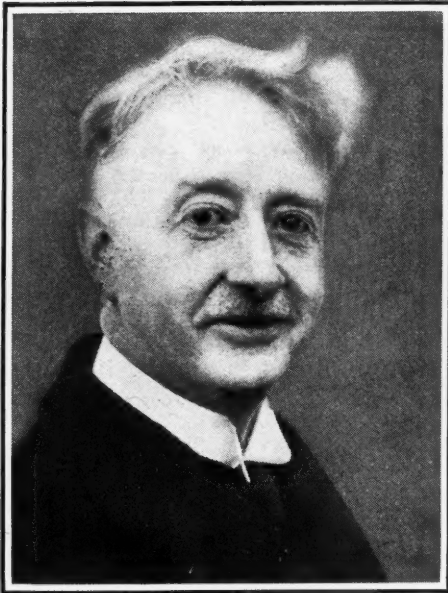


THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER TENDERS A LUNCHEON TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR

On the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the first treaty between France and the United States, a new treaty was signed at Washington, February 6. In Paris, at the same time, Foreign Minister Briand entertained Ambassador Herrick at luncheon. In the front row of this group are M. Briand and Mr. Herrick. At the left in the second row are two members of the French Cabinet, MM. Leygues and Leon-Perrier. At the right of Mr. Herrick and slightly in the rear is M. Painlevé, former Premier.

Lindbergh's Surpassing Adventure

But the most notable of all recent tours of visitation was Colonel Lindbergh's successful round. We recorded last month his non-stop flight to Mexico City and his subsequent visits to the Central American republics and the Canal Zone. Continuing his swift and accurate guidance of his famous airship, the *Spirit of St. Louis*, he visited Bogota, the capital of Colombia, thence flew to Caracas, capital of Venezuela, and next paused at the Virgin Islands, bought by the United States from Denmark. He pro-



HON. WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE, PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

Mr. Cosgrave, who made a brief January-February visit to the United States, was born in Dublin in 1880, and has been prominent in Irish politics and government for the past ten years.

ceeded to visit our own fellow-citizens of Porto Rico. Flying eastward, he called at Santo Domingo and at Haiti, and then skirted the southern coast of Cuba, arriving on schedule time at Havana. He was there féted by President Machado and the Cuban people, and by all the American republics as represented in the Pan-American Conference. After several days at Havana, he set forth early in the morning of February 13, for a non-stop flight to St. Louis. This last stretch was made difficult by almost continuous rain and fog, but he arrived without mishap in the afternoon of the same day. Nothing in the history of travel can quite compare with this unique tour of our young fellow-citizen. Meanwhile everybody is in accord with the appreciative hospitality that the country has been extending to the French aviators, Messrs. Costes and Lebriz, who flew to South America from Europe, and have come to the United States after Latin-American visits. It is no mere fancy, or whim of welcoming orators, that attaches importance to the international aspects of aviation. Lindbergh's flight inspired the aviation treaty signed at Havana.

*The Late
General
Goethals.*

The same season that records the flight of Lindbergh to the Canal Zone must also include in its obituary record the name of General Goethals, whose fame is identified with the engineering and administrative work that resulted in uniting the Atlantic and Pacific at the Isthmus of Panama. General Goethals was a notable example of the success that has been achieved by the United States Army, in the training of engineers for the carrying on of public works. We have now before us in the problem of mastering the floods of the Mississippi River, an engineering problem fully comparable in its difficulties and in its probable cost with the building of the Panama Canal. The successors of General Goethals in the Engineer Corps of the Army are competent to carry this enterprise to a complete success. The best way to honor the memory of men like General Goethals is to support the engineers in the carrying out of this next great public work, which is to be followed by two or three others important from the economic standpoint, though not pressing from that of the security of the lives and homes of our citizens.

*Transit,
and a Fine
Citizen*

New York City has lately been in the thick of discussions and legal movements looking toward the solution of a series of major transportation problems. The city grows rapidly, and millions of people have to be carried to and from their work. New subways are building, and the city authorities are trying to bring about a scheme of unified operation under municipal auspices. The new vehicular tunnel under the Hudson River is a pronounced success, and a great bridge already begun will afford another means of access to Manhattan Island. There have been protracted difficulties in adjusting relationships between the city and the New York Central Railroad system, as regards terminal rights and facilities. For many years the legal department of the railroad has been in negotiation with the city authorities. Several weeks ago certain remaining differences were under discussion, when the senior vice-president and chief legal counsel of the New York Central, Mr. Ira A. Place, made a plea for full harmony by volunteering to surrender certain substantial aims on the part of the railway corporation. He spoke finely as a good citizen, and his remarks were instantly

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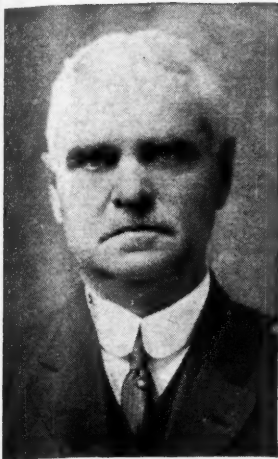
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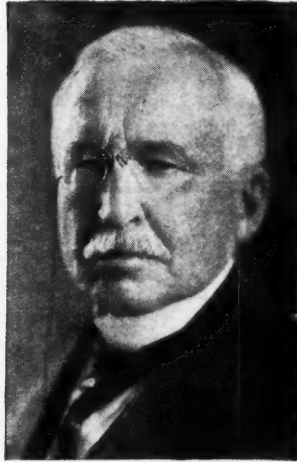
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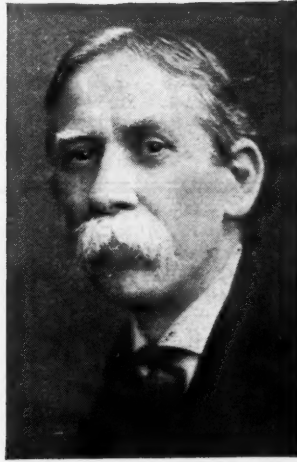
**THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL
GEORGE W. GOETHALS**

The builder of the Panama Canal was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1858, graduated at West Point in 1880, and served as an engineer officer for forty years, rendering many notable services.



**THE LATE IRA A. PLACE OF
NEW YORK**

Mr. Place was born in New York in 1854, graduated at Cornell in 1881, and served in the Law Department of the New York Central System for 45 years. His career was that of a model citizen.



**DR. TALCOTT WILLIAMS,
EMINENT JOURNALIST**

Mr. Williams was born in Turkey in 1849, graduated at Amherst in 1873, and spent forty years in newspaper work, after which he served as Director of the Columbia School of Journalism.

hailed with wide approval. A few hours later it was announced that he had passed away peaceably and quietly of heart failure at his home. Mr. Place was typical of the men of character and unselfish devotion to duty, so many of whom are found to-day in the higher leadership of our railways and quasi-public enterprises. He had long been a valued trustee of Cornell University, and was in many ways identified with the best interests of New York and the country. Such a career is worthy of honor and praise.

*An American
Leader in
Journalism*

American journalism has never been without its quota of eminent publicists and scholarly men of letters. The late Dr. Talcott Williams had a marvelous grasp of modern history and world politics. His erudition was almost unequalled in America in its wide range. He was a leader in education and philanthropy, a patron of the drama, an art connoisseur, and an influence in both church and state. After a long career in daily journalism he became the organizer and Dean of the now famous School of Journalism at Columbia University. As a tribute to his scholarship, he was chosen a Senator of Phi Beta Kappa. He was a friend of down-trodden peoples, and he was a personal helper and inspiration to hundreds of young men. He had written many

valuable articles for this periodical in the course of his career as an author, and he was a public speaker of genuine eloquence.

*Ending of
the Havana
Conference*

The Pan-American Conference at Havana, opening in the middle of January and ending by agreement on February 20, was observed with intense interest in Europe as well as in North and South America. Upon the whole, it was a valuable meeting of statesmen and jurists, and its results will have been beneficial in practical ways, while its influence on international public opinion will have proved salutary. Mr. William Hard interprets and summarizes the conference in an article sent to us by cable as this number goes to press on February 16th. We are glad to present to our readers the compliments that Mr. Hard pays to the hospitality of Havana, and to the exceedingly high plane upon which the conference conducted its business. The Latin-American leaders, as Mr. Hard found them, were marvels of finished oratory and of perfect parliamentary manners. The tact and good sense of our own Chairman, Mr. Hughes, could not have been excelled. Every question was faced frankly and facts were considered as against academic theories. The Pan-American Union will continue, with increased usefulness and prestige.

A Record of Current Events

FROM JANUARY 14 TO FEBRUARY 14, 1928

PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

January 15.—President Coolidge arrives at Havana on the U. S. S. *Texas* on his first visit to a foreign shore since taking office.

January 16.—The Sixth Pan-American Conference is opened at Havana by President Gerardo Machado of Cuba and addressed by President Calvin Coolidge. . . . President Coolidge leaving next day for Key West, en route to Washington.

February 7.—A plenary session approves the treaty for regulation of aircraft communication between American republics. (See page 271.)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 16.—The Senate adopts the McMaster resolution favoring the immediate reduction of tariffs; the vote is 54 to 34.

January 19.—In the Senate, the seat of Frank L. Smith (Rep., Ill.) is declared vacant by a vote of 61 to 23.

The Senate Democrats confirm the leadership of Joseph T. Robinson (Ark.), voting 35 to 1 against Mr. Heflin (Dem., Ala.) on a religious issue.

January 24.—The House passes the independent offices appropriation bill, including \$539,593,111 for the Shipping Board.

January 27.—In the Senate, the Hale resolution is adopted, providing for inquiry into the S-4 submarine disaster by a presidential commission of three civilians and two retired naval officers.

January 31.—The Senate passes the Jones Merchant Marine Bill, voting 53 to 31; it favors government ownership and operation, and carries authorization for replacement.

February 1.—The House passes the McFadden bill removing Clayton Anti-trust restrictions on interlocking directorates of banks in the Federal Reserve System.

February 2.—The Senate confirms appointment to the Federal Farm Loan Board of Eugene Meyer, George R. Cooksey, and Floyd R. Harrison, the vote being 60 to 13.

February 3.—The Senate arrests Col. Robert W. Stewart for refusal to testify regarding disposition of \$3,000,000 of petroleum resale profits of Continental Trading Co., Ltd.

February 4.—In the Senate, the Interior Department appropriation bill is passed.

February 6.—The Senate passes the Watson bill extending the life of the Federal Radio Commission for one year after March 15, 1928.

The Senate passes the Public Building bill, authorizing \$250,000,000.

February 10.—The Senate votes 56 to 26 in adopting the LaFollette resolution against a third term for President.

In the House, the War Department appropriation bill is passed, carrying \$405,000,000.

The House agrees to the conference report on public buildings, increasing authorization for Federal structures outside Washington to \$290,000,000.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 13.—More than 1500 out of 2000 prohibition agents fail to pass civil service tests.

The President signs a bill authorizing \$25,000,000 for purchase of capital property for erection of more suitable Government buildings.

January 17.—The Louisiana primary election for Governor results in victory for Huey P. Long.

January 22.—Governor John E. Weeks, of Vermont, reports a return to normal as a result of main-line railway and highway post-flood reconstruction.

February 4.—President Coolidge addresses the chief newspaper-men of the United States at the dedication of a new \$10,000,000 National Press Club Building in Washington, D. C.

February 8.—Governor Ed Jackson of Indiana is placed on trial charged with bribery in naming an Indianapolis prosecutor for office.

February 9.—United States Senator-elect Frank L. Smith (Rep., Ill.), whom the Senate refused to seat on the ground of fraud through excessive campaign expenditures, is appointed by Governor Len Small to serve the unexpired term.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 14.—The Italian Mafia is broken.

January 16.—Leon Trotzky goes into exile, leaving Moscow for Vierny, East Russia.

January 20.—The Nanking Government of China announces a tax of one dollar Mexican (about fifty cents) on every ten gallons of petroleum imported.

January 25.—Nicaragua seems pacified, with confirmation of the capture of El Chipote.

February 1.—James McNeill is installed as Governor-General of the Irish Free State.

February 7.—King George opens the fourth session of his sixth Parliament, promising reduction of taxes and a 21-year age limit for women voters.

The Church of England approves the slightly revised Prayer Book recently defeated in the British House of Commons.

February 9.—Premier Poincaré's financial policy is sustained by vote of 370 to 131 by the French Chamber.

AVIATION

January 27.—The dirigible *Los Angeles* lands on the deck of the airplane carrier *Saratoga* to test refueling at sea.

February 8.—Col. Charles A. Lindbergh reaches Havana, Cuba, after flying over 7860 miles from

Washington, D. C., to 16 countries. . . . Lieut. Dieudonne Costes and Lieut. Com. Joseph Lebrix reach Washington, D. C., completing a four-continent tour from Paris over Africa and South America, flying 22,843 miles since October 10.

February 10.—Messrs. Costes and Lebrix lunch at the White House and are received by both Houses of Congress; they are publicly welcomed at New York on the 11th.

February 14.—Colonel Lindbergh is fêted at St. Louis upon his return, having flown from Havana.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 19.—Sir John Simon, British head of the Indian Statutory Commission which is to study and report on Indian home rule, sails from London for a year's work.

January 20-21.—William Thomas Cosgrave, President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, visits the United States.

February 6.—The new Franco-American arbitration treaty is signed at Washington, D. C.

February 7.—Frank B. Kellogg, American Secretary of State, visits Ottawa, Canada.

ECONOMIC NOTES

January 14.—The American State Department lifts the ban against flotation of French industrial securities, which has been in force for three years.

January 15.—The Federal Oil Conservation Board reports that there are 92,000,000,000 barrels of recoverable oil in shale alone.

Secretary Hoover reports that farmers' cooperatives sold \$2,265,000,000 of produce in 1925.

January 23.—Life insurance written up in 1927 is estimated at \$16,700,000,000 in the United States in a report to the Department of Commerce; total insurance now in force is over \$87,000,000,000.

January 26.—The Treasury Department reports a \$23,000,000 increase in tobacco revenue in 1927 over 1926, with a total last year of \$387,400,000.

February 5.—The Carnegie Foundation has in 22 years distributed \$15,985,000 in pensions to professors.

February 6.—Three banks are closed at Miami, Fla.

February 14.—The control of bank stock by voting trusts is declared invalid by the New York Court of Appeals.

OBITUARY

January 13.—Frederic Arthur Bridgeman, American painter, 80.

January 14.—Francis Herbert Stead, English editor and social worker, 71. . . . Archibald Cary Coolidge, Harvard historian, 61.

January 15.—Alexander Ewing Outerbridge, Philadelphia metallurgist, 77.

January 16.—Dr. Percy Meredith Hughes, educator, of Syracuse, N. Y., 63.

January 17.—Willard Parker Ward, Georgia engineer, 82. . . . Wilberfloss George Owst, Baltimore music critic, 64.

January 18.—Frank P. Holland, Texas editor.

January 19.—John Wilbur Dwight, former Republican whip of Federal House, 68. . . . Edward Larned Ryerson, Chicago steel man, 73. . . . Brig. Gen. James Burke Hickey, U. S. A., retired, 79.

January 21.—Maj. Gen. George Washington Goethals, U. S. A., Panama Canal builder, 69.

January 22.—Rear Adm. Victor Blue, U. S. N., retired, 62. . . . Ellis Pusey Passmore, Philadelphia banker, 59.

January 23.—Señora Maria Guerrero de Diaz de Mendoza, famous Spanish actress.

January 24.—Ira Adelbert Place, railroad lawyer, 73. . . . Dr. Talcott Williams, noted journalist and educator, 78.

January 27.—Prof. Clarence Walworth Alvord, historian, 59. . . . Dr. William Bailey Royall, Greek professor, of North Carolina, 84.

January 28.—Vicente Blasco Ibanez, famous Spanish publicist, 61.

January 29.—Mrs. Henry Whipple (Henrietta Channing Dana) Skinner, novelist, 70.

January 31.—Dr. Johannes Fibiger, Danish cancer expert.

February 3.—Prof. Charles F. Kroch, of Stevens Institute, 81.

February 4.—Aram J. Pothier, long Republican Governor of Rhode Island, 73.

February 6.—Emanuel Watson Bloomingdale, N. Y. merchant, 75. . . . Mrs. Flora Wambaugh Patterson, botanist, 80.

February 7.—Dr. William Charles Lawson Eglin, Philadelphia electrical engineer, 57. . . . Watson Franklin Blair, former Chicago capitalist, 74.

February 8.—Dr. George Reese Satterlee, gastrointestinal specialist, 54. . . . Rear Adm. Franklin Hanford, U. S. N., retired, 83.

February 9.—William Howard Thompson, former U. S. Senator from Kansas, 57. . . . Malcolm Hugh Macleod, Canadian railroad builder, 71.

February 11.—Rear Adm. George Collier Remy, U. S. N., retired, 86. . . . Nelson Beardsley Burr, railroad expert, 57. . . . Rev. Richard Henry Tierney, S. J., priest and editor, 55.

February 14.—The Earl of Oxford and Asquith (Herbert Henry Asquith), 75. . . . Dr. Samuel Williams, Ohio editor, 100. . . . William Clarke Rice, artist and illustrator, 52.



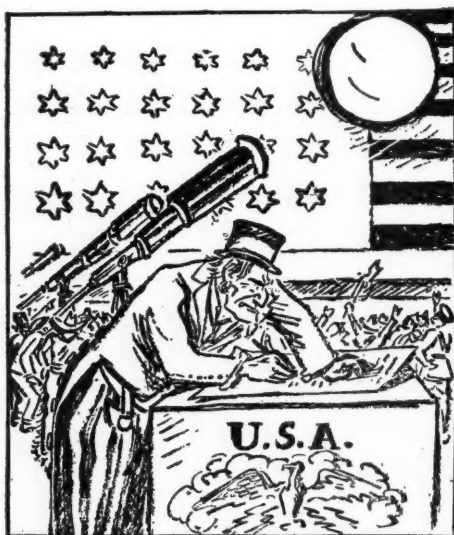
America in Foreign Cartoons



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE AT THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

"The fox preaches a sermon on the sovereignty of small nations."

From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



PEACE IS ON THE WAY: AMERICA HAS JUST SIGNED A TREATY WITH THE MOON

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



UNCLE SAM BELIEVES IN TWO MASCOTS—PEACE AND WAR—AT THE SAME TIME

From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)



A BUSY DAY IN WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE (to Typist Kellogg): "If you have finished that peace letter, write one to London. 'Dear John Bull, how do you expect me to get my crowd crazy about my bigger navy if you keep scrapping cruisers?'"

From the *Express* (London, England)



THE UNITED STATES AND NICARAGUA

PEACE: "Are those salutes of joy for me?"
UNCLE SAM: "No, those are my sons playing with their brothers in Nicaragua."

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



THE MONROE DOCTRINE

UNCLE SAM: "War must be outlawed—except where I am!"

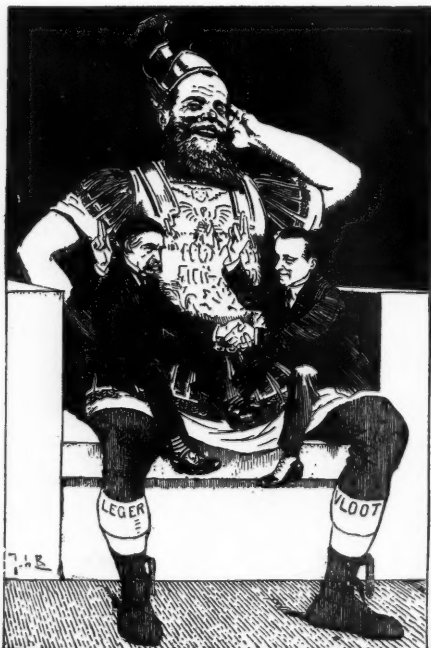
From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)
(The man underneath is Nicaragua)



THE PROPOSALS OF SECRETARY KELLOGG

From *Guerin Meschino* (Milan, Italy)

"Behind the gentle messenger," remarks this Italian paper, "anybody can see the well-known shadow." It was in Milan, nine years ago, that Woodrow Wilson was accorded an extraordinary tribute as a visiting American President; but Italians have always since blamed him for what they believe to be inadequacies in the peace treaty.



THE OUTLAWING OF WAR

From *De Groene Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)
(Mars, the God of War, laughs at the French Foreign Minister, M. Briand, and President Coolidge. Briand sits on the "Army knee" of Mars, Coolidge on the Navy)



"LET NOT YOUR RIGHT HAND KNOW—"

UNCLE SAM: "Pleased to meet you, Peace. Say, you and me should get together on this little proposal of mine outlawing war. . . . But hold on a minute till I give this lad a sock to the point."

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)

SECR
only?
must s



GERMAN COMMENT ON FRANCE'S NEW TREATY WITH AMERICA

"I swear eternal love, Uncle Sam."
 "I should prefer that you pay your debts promptly."

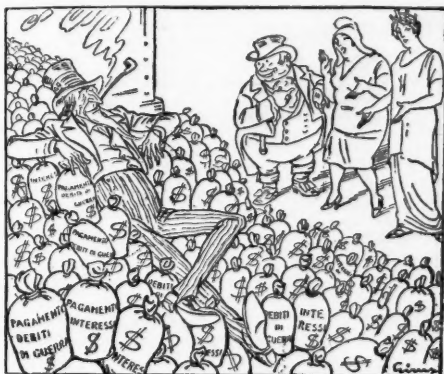
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)



MASS PRODUCTION IN AMERICA

SECRETARY KELLOGG: "What! A treaty with France only? That is not worth while. It is not American. We must standardize it!"

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



NINETY MILLIONS MORE FOR UNCLE SAM

AMERICA: "Thanks, my dear people, for your little gift."
ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND ITALY: "We have done it out
of charity for you and your poor family."

From *Guerin Meschino* (Milan, Italy)



MR. McADOO ASSUMES THE MANTLE LAID ASIDE BY MR. BRYAN

By Pease, in the *Evening News* (Newark, N. J.)

A FEW REMARKS FROM THE DRY LEADER

By Reynolds, in the *Morning Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

ASHES ON THE SMITH SLIDING POND

By Hanny, in the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia, Pa.)

Prohibition Enforcement— The Evil and the Remedy

BY WILLIAM G. McADOO

THE prohibition question to-day has become far wider and far deeper than prohibition. There is, in fact, no prohibition question in the sense that the policy of prohibition is in issue. The people of this country have already settled that by putting into the Constitution a provision prohibiting the "manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes within the United States and all territory subject to its jurisdiction." The real issue, the fundamental issue, is: Shall the Constitution and the laws of the United States be respected and obeyed by the people and by the duly constituted officers of every State in the Union? Or shall a State in its sovereign capacity be permitted to disregard any part of the Constitution which it elects not to obey?

The Eighteenth Amendment in express terms places the obligation of concurrent enforcement upon the States, as well as upon the Federal Government. The Federal Government is not equipped to perform the duties of ordinary police enforcement. It has not the agencies at hand, nor could it equip itself with the necessary agencies without seriously altering its character. Police enforcement, on the other hand, is the principal and normal function of the State governments. In a State where a prohibition law has been enacted, the entire police machinery is available to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment. This is what the Constitution contemplated. Deprived of the effective coöperation of the police organizations of the States, the amendment becomes practically a nullity.

This is what happened in New York and Maryland. Although each of these States ratified the Amendment and helped to put it in the Constitution, they refuse coöperation; they refuse obedience. In 1923 New York repealed its State prohibition law, known as the Mullan-Gage Act. Be-

cause the State courts were thus deprived of jurisdiction to enforce the Volstead Act, more than 32,000 law officers of New York find themselves paralyzed in any efforts they may make to enforce prohibition in the State courts, leaving the Federal Government, with a wholly inadequate force of little more than 500 law officers in that State, to carry the burden.

The State of Maryland has never enacted a prohibition enforcement law. As a result its law officers find the courts of Maryland closed against enforcement of the Volstead Act; there also the burden has been thrown upon the wholly inadequate federal organization. Consequently, the Eighteenth Amendment is practically a dead letter in New York and Maryland. While it is true that the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws of the United States are the supreme law of the land, nevertheless the Eighteenth Amendment is not self-executing and requires an enforcement statute to put it into effect. The Volstead Act is such a statute, but it is not a part of the laws of New York and Maryland.

In Reply to Governor Smith

The Governor of New York, taking issue with my statement that "the Volstead Act is not a part of the laws of New York," said recently that I "do not know the Constitution," and quoted therefrom Article 6, Section 2:

This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or the laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Governor added:

"If that doesn't mean that the Volstead law is a part of the laws of New York State, then I would like for some one to tell me what it does mean."

This provision is commonly known as the "supremacy clause." The Supreme Court of the United States has construed it with such explicitness that its meaning is not in doubt. Broadly speaking, that meaning is that whenever there is a conflict between State laws and the Constitution or the constitutionally enacted laws of the United States, the courts must hold that the Federal law is supreme.

For instance, the New York Legislature in 1920 enacted a law, which Governor Smith approved, permitting the manufacture of beer and wine containing 2.75 per cent. of alcohol. The Volstead Act permits only one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol. The Supreme Court of the United States properly held that the New York "Beer and Wine Bill" was unconstitutional because it was in direct conflict with the Volstead Act, therefore it had to yield to the supreme law of the land. The Governor of New York, in approving the repeal of the Mullan-Gage law, cites this decision, which in itself conveys quite convincingly the meaning of the constitutional provision he has quoted. I commend the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to the Governor of New York.

Where State Courts Are Powerless

It is well established by the decisions of that great court that a federal penal statute, such as the Volstead Act, can be enforced only in the federal courts. Therefore, the New York State courts can take no jurisdiction of an indictment that is based upon the Volstead Act, nor can they sentence any offender to fine or imprisonment for violation of its terms. This is precisely what the organized liquor interests have sought to accomplish. In every State in which they can capture political power, as they have already done in New York and Maryland, it is their purpose to destroy the Eighteenth Amendment by having each State repeal its prohibition enforcement laws and, by such unlawful means, to make enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment impossible. They refuse to adopt the lawful means that have been prescribed by the Constitution for its amendment or repeal.

The Eighteenth Amendment is as firmly anchored in our fundamental law as the Bill of Rights. But have we in full the benefits that the amendment was intended to secure? We have not. The question we

must consider is what constructive means can be found to secure to the American people the benefits of the most ambitious single attempt ever made by any people in human history to better their health, their social and economic conditions, and their general environment. Since prohibition is the settled policy of the people of the United States, nothing remains except to compel obedience to the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws of the United States, just as we compel obedience to all other laws, Federal and State, against crimes and misdemeanors and against infractions of ordinances and regulations for the protection of society.

Placing Responsibility upon a President

It is of outstanding importance to stress the fact that the powers of government must be entrusted only to those who have the honest will to enforce the law. It is not to be expected that the law will be enforced by officials who are hostile to it and who are willing to remit the performance of their public duties in exchange for political or personal advantage. This must be emphasized repeatedly in order to bring home its fundamental importance to the voters and thus prevent the Government from falling into the hands of those from whom it would be idle to expect law enforcement on any terms. If we are to have a government without the will to enforce the law, as we shall have if we put control in the hands of those who are hostile to the law, it is a waste of effort to consider ways and means of enforcement; in that case we shall have to make up our minds to submit supinely to a régime of bootlegging and corruption.

The supreme need is to put law enforcement in the White House; it is of less importance to put it in party platforms. In the White House it will transform law violation into law obedience; in party platforms it will mean nothing unless translated into the strength and authority of a fearless, righteous, and resolute President.

What a Wet President Could Do

Attempt is being made to convince the country that no matter if a "Wet" is elected President, the Constitution and laws will be enforced. This is both unsound and untrue. Neither the Constitution nor the laws of the United States are self-executing. The President is charged by the Constitution with the express duty of pro-

tecting and defending the Constitution and executing the laws of the land. In doing this he has, of necessity, wide latitude and discretion. If he is opposed to the laws which he is called upon to execute, he can neglect them or fail to exert his power and authority in such manner that the despised laws will become impotent, without subjecting himself to tangible criticism or possible impeachment.

To say that a President hostile to the Eighteenth Amendment and the Prohibition laws can not seriously imperil effective enforcement throughout the United States is upon its face an absurdity. This has been conclusively demonstrated by what has been done in New York and Maryland, where hostile executives have paralyzed prohibition enforcement. The President has the power to appoint the judges of the Supreme Court, the judges of all the circuit and district courts throughout the United States, the prosecuting attorneys, the United States marshals, the Secretary of the Treasury and his assistants—these latter officials being directly charged with enforcement of the prohibitive laws. If the President should appoint to these important positions men who are hostile to the laws, the effect upon their enforcement would be profound.

A Gibraltar of Offensive Operations

Moreover, the President is primarily responsible for the budget through which the Congress makes appropriations for prohibition enforcement. He can largely influence the size of the appropriations, which, if inadequate, seriously impair the ability to enforce the law. He has the power to veto appropriation and other bills enacted by the Congress, and through such power he might be able to reduce the appropriations to such a small amount as to paralyze prohibition enforcement. He has a tremendous influence upon public opinion, and through his speeches and messages to the Congress, and the use of general patronage, which is a powerful weapon in his hands, he could, if he was opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment and the prohibition laws, lead a formidable movement for their repeal. The White House in the hands of the liquor interests would be a veritable Gibraltar of offensive operations; and the doom of the Eighteenth Amendment would be written boldly upon the face of the Constitution.

How Can Enforcement Be Improved?

Assuming that a President and other high officials are elected who have the courage and the will to enforce the law, there still remains the difficult question of the best method to accomplish it. How can enforcement overcome the inherent obstacles which beset it? This is an administrative question, but all who support the Eighteenth Amendment must reach agreement concerning it in order to secure united action against its opponents.

We must start with the proposition that the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of enforcement is in direct proportion to the extent to which the State governments coöperate or fail to coöperate. In those States which, in compliance with their constitutional duty, have enacted enforcement statutes and whose officials recognize their sworn, as well as their patriotic, duty to support the Constitution, the prohibition law is as well and capably enforced as any other law. On the other hand, prohibition has not yet had a chance in States which have no enforcement law, or which, having such a law, permit their officials to ignore and flout it with impunity.

The Burden on a Dry State

The chief cause of the present revolting conditions of non-enforcement in certain sections of the country is the refusal of a small number of States to carry out their constitutional duty to coöperate in enforcing prohibition. The bad example of these States serves to discourage and dampen enforcement elsewhere. Their negligence puts an intolerable burden on States which are trying to do their duty. While the latter are appropriating from their revenues large sums of money to defray the expenses of enforcement, this burden is increased and their efforts are largely frustrated by the inflow of illicit liquor from States which make no effort to enforce the law. Naturally they become disheartened and their vigor tends to relax in the face of what appears to be a hopeless task. We are menaced by a return of the very conditions which national prohibition was specifically designed to destroy—namely, the overflowing of the dry States, which constitute the great majority, by liquor from a small minority of States which persist in remaining wet. The rights of the dry States are thus flagrantly invaded; they are deprived

of the protection which the Eighteenth Amendment was intended to give them.

In this state of affairs it might seem logical for the Federal Government to take complete charge of the situation by shouldering the whole burden of enforcement.

If the States will not enforce the law, it may be argued, the Federal Government must. This would require a tremendous extension of the police power and enforcement machinery of the Federal Government. If it should undertake directly the task of prohibition enforcement throughout the country it would have to increase its staff of enforcement agents to a veritable army. It would have to post thousands of these officials in the cities and towns and villages and establish a great network of supervising and supporting agencies. This would be unlike anything ever attempted before in any field of Federal activity.

Exclusive Federal Enforcement Unwise

The wisdom of such a step is doubtful for three reasons:

(1) Obviously this is not what the Eighteenth Amendment intended. The language of that amendment negatives any intention to require the Federal Government to build up a great centralized police machine, such as would be required for exclusive Federal enforcement. It indicates, on the contrary, that the primary and largest share of the responsibility for enforcement should fall on the States. In view of their greater fitness to perform the task through their highly organized police power and its employment to the full in accordance with the obligation which the amendment lays upon them, it was recognized that the task remaining to be performed by the Federal Government would be more national than local in scope.

(2) It might well be represented as threatening the balance of our political system were the Federal Government exclusively required to employ the great number of police agents necessary to enforce the prohibition laws. It would lend weight to the hitherto unwarranted charge of bureaucracy and excessive centralization. It might create a weapon of patronage capable of wide abuse, and which conceivably, in dishonest hands, might aid in the formation of a Federal political machine of sufficient strength to dominate the internal politics of the States.

(3) In States willing and able to enforce

the law it would lead to needless expense and duplication of effort.

Exclusive Federal enforcement ought, therefore, not to be resorted to except as an extreme measure; and in saying this I speak as an earnest advocate of the full exercise of Federal power in every case where it is necessary in order to accomplish the results intended by the Constitution. Fear of the Federal Government, which is sometimes alleged on no better ground than because it is the Federal Government, is but an idle and misleading pretext, for the Federal Government is the people's government in as full sense as the State governments; but precisely because I take this position I see no reason to involve the Federal Government prematurely and before the advantages of its action are clearly seen to outweigh the disadvantages. It is true that the Federal Government has unlimited police power under the Eighteenth Amendment to enforce prohibition; but I prefer to see it exercise that power in accordance with the obvious intention of the amendment, viz: that the primary and major part of the task should be performed by the States.

Excuses for a State's Inaction

The question, therefore, for the consideration of all who believe that the present disgraceful condition of non-enforcement should be ended, is how to enlist more effectively the coöperation of those States whose efforts are beginning to weaken under the negligence of other States, and how to induce the States which are not enforcing prohibition to discharge their constitutional duty. In other words, the task is to rouse the States to more energetic and effective action. To this end all the possible excuses for State laxity or inaction must be examined and removed.

What, then, are the excuses which the States can allege for laxity in enforcing prohibition? The most plausible is that if their State or municipal police officers are required to devote the necessary attention to tracking down offenders against the prohibition laws, they will not have sufficient time left for the performance of their regular duties of detecting and arresting ordinary law-breakers. It is said that the laws against theft, burglary, assault, and murder cannot be properly enforced if the police must also give to prohibition enforcement the amount of attention necessary to render it effective. This argument

was recently used in one of our large cities by a candidate for the office of mayor in support of a platform pledge not to employ the police in enforcing prohibition. It is gratifying to observe that he was defeated for election; but the speciousness of the argument conceals a possible element of truth. Certainly strict, vigorous and effective enforcement of prohibition in States which have allowed the situation to get out of hand requires the time and services of a great number of police officers. Prohibition enforcement, if seriously undertaken, throws undeniably an added burden on the existing State and municipal governments; and if this added duty is to be satisfactorily discharged, an enlarged police force in many places will be required, with resulting increase in cost.

The second excuse which the States can offer is that they cannot afford the increased expenditures necessary to bring their police forces up to the requisite strength for effective enforcement. They can claim that the Eighteenth Amendment places upon them new burdens, the satisfactory and efficient discharge of which exceeds their resources; and that this added burden must be shouldered in part by the Federal Government either in the form of direct Federal enforcement of the law or in some other way. This is the only argument which can be made with any pretense of validity; but it contains a sufficient element of justice and sound reason to point the way, I believe, to the most helpful step that can be taken toward a satisfactory solution of the problem.

Why Not Financial Aid to the States?

Recognizing that the States are in the first instance the proper agencies for enforcement and are so regarded by the Eighteenth Amendment; recognizing that the duty so imposed throws a new and heavy financial burden on the States; recognizing that the Federal Government is, by the amendment, obligated with the States to do its full, if not the major, part, it seems to me that a great incentive to enforcement could be supplied, and the present situation vastly improved, if the Federal Government would apply to prohibition the policy which it has in recent years increasingly pursued with justice and success in other fields of social melioration—the policy of bearing a part of the financial burden of State activities which

are of benefit to the nation as a whole, and which are executed as a part of a nation-wide plan. By means of such financial aid the Federal Government can contribute, as it properly should, in carrying out these nation-wide measures, while the actual administration can be left in the hands of the local agencies.

Help for Deserving States

There is thus the least possible danger of a tendency towards bureaucratic centralization and the least possible waste and duplication of effort. As applied to prohibition this policy would mean that the Federal Government would contribute annually, on an equitable apportionment, a reasonable amount of money toward the cost of enforcement, to each State which entitled itself to such aid by having on its statute books an enforcement law measuring up to the standard of Federal requirement; this money to be applied by the State to building up and increasing the efficiency of its police and other agencies for enforcing this law.

Such a policy would get rid of the dual responsibility now existing, would recognize the wisdom of local self-government as applied to the prohibition problem, and would throw upon the States the primary and direct responsibility for enforcement. Thereafter Federal enforcement could be largely confined to the exercise of a general inspection and supervision of State enforcement activities, such supervision being designed to secure effective coöperation between the two authorities. This would avoid any appearance by the Federal Government of an attempt to supplant or minimize local self-government.

Strict Enforcement for Wet States

Such a distribution of functions between the States and the Federal authority would leave the Federal Government free to increase its direct enforcement program in those States like New York and Maryland, which, having no State enforcement laws, would be entitled to no appropriation under the act, and where accordingly the whole task of enforcement must necessarily be assumed and vigorously performed by the Federal Government.

The Federal Government could then concentrate with greater thoroughness on the protection of our international boundaries and sea coasts against the illicit

importation of intoxicants, and on a closer supervision of attempted interstate traffic in the prohibited beverages. In all these ways responsibility would be more definitely fixed, and efficiency of administration should be vastly improved.

Of course, the act embodying the policy I have outlined would have to carry a provision that if any State receiving Federal aid failed to make honest and efficient use of the funds so received, or failed to administer its prohibition laws strictly and effectively, Federal aid would be withdrawn, and direct Federal enforcement substituted as in the case of States having no enforcement law.

Not a New Principle

Such a policy of Federal aid to the States for prohibition enforcement would be merely an extension of a practice which is now a well-recognized part of the operations of our government. Since 1911, no less than a dozen acts have been passed applying the policy to different lines of governmental activity. Of these the best known are the so-called Good-Roads Acts, the acts for agricultural extension work, and the Vocational Education Acts. The principle has also been similarly applied for a much longer time to the maintenance and support of the State militia.

In all these instances, as in the case of prohibition, the States are engaged in carrying on activities which are of direct benefit to the nation as a whole; activities which involve and require nation-wide conformity to established Federal standards, with which there must be coöperation and uniformity in State policy. The Federal Government, representing all the people, has a direct interest in maintaining these standards, and therefore assumes, in the form of a grant of financial aid, a part of the burden, in consideration of the efficient coöperation of the States in the execution of the prohibition laws, for which both the State and Federal Governments are responsible. There is thus no suggestion of compulsion against the States—no attempt to force Federal authority or interference upon an unwilling State. The States are not required to accept Federal assistance unless they so desire.

To extend the policy of Federal aid to prohibition enforcement would mark no unprecedented or daring advance beyond the already existing practice. The policy has already been applied to the enforcement

of a measure of *police* regulation in the case of the Chamberlain-Kahn Act of 1918 for the Suppression of Venereal Diseases.

The plan that is here proposed offers two great advantages:

Centralized Responsibility

First, by making possible a definite and clean-cut distribution of functions between the two authorities, it would tend to fix responsibility. One of the chief obstacles to effective enforcement at the present time is the absence of a clear division of responsibility between the Federal Government and the States. Both are nominally purporting to perform the same task of direct enforcement against offenders, and this has given ground for the specious argument against so-called "double jeopardy." The fact that the Federal Government is supposed to be enforcing the law tends to lull the State governments into a feeling that there is no need for them to put forth the full measure of effort which they might devote to the task. More and more the States thus rely upon Federal authority and feel less and less responsibility for their own part in prohibition enforcement.

The present situation is a standing invitation to the practice, so fatal to efficiency, popularly known as "passing the buck." Prior to national prohibition the dry States, having sole responsibility for the administration of their own laws, enforced them with a greater degree of effectiveness than some of them appear to be doing now. Under present conditions failure of enforcement in some States is due largely to the increase in the burden which is thrown upon them by the obstinate refusal of other States to do their part. The plan I propose would greatly facilitate the task of States in the former class, because it would mobilize the strength of Federal enforcement in the non-enforcing States, and thereby keep the latter from making the task more difficult for the States which are enforcing the law.

The Question of States' Rights

Second, the meaning and purpose of the Eighteenth Amendment would be placed in clearer light before the public opinion of the country. There is too great a tendency to represent the Eighteenth Amendment as a matter of exclusive Federal power and concern; whereas, on the contrary, the power and duty of "concurrent enforcement" is imposed on the States as well as

on the Federal Government. Efforts are constantly being made to whip up the doctrine of States' rights against what is supposed to be an instance of Federal encroachment. This argument can succeed only by concealing or misrepresenting the true provisions of the amendment.

The amendment recognizes State power and authority as fully and explicitly as Federal authority—it deals with both on equal terms; it relies for its effectiveness as much on one as on the other. The Eighteenth Amendment does not ignore or minimize the position of the States; on the contrary, it affirms the equal position of the States and the national Government. This needs to be brought into relief and properly emphasized, but it naturally tends to be obscured in the popular mind so long as the Federal Government undertakes to duplicate the work of the States and engages through its own agencies in the task of direct police enforcement. In doing so where the States themselves are seeking to enforce the law, the Federal Government seems to the average citizen to be taking over State functions.

Conflicts and uncertainties are always bound to arise where two sets of agencies are thus seeking to perform the same task, and the result is to create a wholly unnecessary jealousy and suspicion between the two jurisdictions. This would be removed if the constitutional authority of the States under the Eighteenth Amendment were emphasized, and if the Federal Government were to coöperate, rather than compete, with them in the discharge of their obligations and assist them financially in carrying the burden. Prohibition would be seen in its proper position of a great coöperative enterprise by the States, to improve the living conditions of their people through the exercise of their administrative machinery of local self-government.

Education and Obedience to Law

I do not wish to imply that compulsory obedience and law enforcement are alone sufficient to produce all the benefits which the Eighteenth Amendment can bring. I say only that they are indispensable. If we are to have the full advantages of prohibition we must, of course, have something besides police enforcement. We must have patriotic obedience to law. We must teach its virtue and importance as the first duty of good citizenship, as a cardinal principle

of democratic government. We must have education which will bring home to the rising generation the purpose and the value of prohibition, and thus make it less and less necessary to rely upon police enforcement. No better way can be found of securing ultimately the benefits of this great reform than by introducing into every public school in the land a short course designed to acquaint the pupils with the evils and dangers of intoxicants and narcotics, as shown by experience and scientific research. Such education is imperative because in a democracy the people should understand the wisdom and justification of the laws which they are asked to obey.

There can be no doubt that in the long run such a policy of education will destroy the opposition to prohibition, much of which is based upon sheer ignorance and prejudice. But the process of education is slow in producing its results. Meanwhile the ground will be cut from under it if flagrant disobedience of law is permitted with impunity under the very eyes of the generation we are attempting to educate. Education can not make headway against unabashed lawlessness. It can do its work properly only where there is seen to exist a resolute and successful determination to enforce the law.

Constructive Work Required

We have reached a point when the questions I have been discussing must be seriously considered by the American people. Nothing appears to be more certain than the nation-wide determination not to give up prohibition. But if it is not to be given up, it must be enforced. An unenforced law is a festering ulcer in the body politic of whose consequences we already perceive disquieting symptoms. We can not trust to mere expressions of good intentions and pious commonplaces for enforcement of law. Enforcement requires more than good intentions. Constructive work must be done, and the constructive thing now vitally necessary is to improve the system of administration, to create a better feeling among the people and among the States toward enforcement, and to promote more effective coöperation between them and the Federal authority.

Enforcement must be so organized as to present prohibition as a matter of State concern no less than of national concern, and it must be made clear that it depends

for success upon the popular will and upon the administrative organs of local self-government.

How can we create a finer atmosphere of mutual tolerance and good-will in the discussion, as well as the solution, of this great problem which affects so vitally the public welfare? I do not condemn those who hold opposite views to mine. I do not regard them as unpatriotic citizens; I do not say that they have no right to express their opinions. It is not the difference of opinion to which I direct my argument, but to the fundamental question of the duty and obligation of every patriotic citizen to yield obedience to the Constitution and laws of the land. I direct my argument against resort by thoughtless but well-meaning citizens to methods that are unlawful and unconstitutional, in order to effect the changes which they think should be made in the law and against the gravely mistaken course adopted by some of the sovereign States to secure, by means which are clearly incompatible with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, a result for which they are entitled to strive only by the lawful means which the Constitution itself leaves open to them.

A Plea for Law and Order

My plea is for obedience to law while the lawful process of discussion and debate goes on. My condemnation is of unlawful methods, extra-constitutional methods, which, unless rebuked not alone by public opinion, but by translating into action the supreme will of the people, as expressed in the supreme law of the land, will inevitably increase the already dangerous tendency to disregard the Constitutional and lawful authority everywhere, with a corresponding demoralization in law enforcement throughout the land. My appeal is to that splendid spirit of America which created the Constitution and which for one hundred and thirty-nine years has maintained our great democ-

racy in its full integrity, has reared upon this continent the mightiest nation on earth, has protected the sacred rights of life and liberty, has produced upon this soil a strong, virile, prosperous and resourceful race which has never been conquered by obstacles and which has never surrendered to enemies within or to foes without our boundaries.

Shall we allow that spirit to die, that spirit of reverence for the Constitution, that spirit of obedience to law, as expressed by the solemnly recorded will of the majority, that spirit of patriotism which has been exalted by sacrifice and consecrated by the blood of battle? No! We must maintain the Constitution, not alone by obedience to it, but by pursuing the lawful processes it prescribes for change or amendment, if we are dissatisfied with its provisions. Let us always, with reverent eyes and patriotic hearts, look upon the noble constitutional edifice won by the blood of our fathers and maintained by the blood of their sons. That edifice rests upon forty-eight sovereign States which are integral parts of the Federal union. Each State has contributed a column to its support. No sovereign State would deliberately attempt to pull down the column which represents its contribution to the splendid structure, yet if the doctrine now mistakenly advanced that a State may determine for itself what part or parts of the Constitution it will obey, should prevail, then the end of constitutional government is surely in sight.

The glory of America is the Constitution. Let us summon the conscience, the pride and the spirit which have made America great and the envied of all the nations of the earth, to the performance of the most solemn and sacred duty of the patriot in the forthcoming campaign and re-declare through its results, that America, under the Constitution, shall march forward to grander victories for humanity and righteousness than she has yet achieved!



Views of Southern Leaders on Prohibition

IN THE issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for the month of May, 1927, Hon. Carter Glass, United States Senator from Virginia, at the request of the Editor, gave his answer to the question whether Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York could be elected President. In that article, the eminent Virginian praised the New York leader as "the most effective and useful Governor of New York since the régime of Samuel J. Tilden." In reply to a recent inquiry—some four months before the holding of national conventions and ten months after last year's article was written—Senator Glass informs the Editor that his opinions have not been altered by further drifts and changes in the political situation. He adheres to the views that he set forth so clearly in the article to which reference is made.

In that article, Mr. Glass holds that prohibition is not a party question, and that the Democratic party should do nothing either directly or indirectly to give it such a character. He dismisses the religious question as unworthy of consideration. Referring to Governor Smith, he declares that "the fact that he is a Catholic would not, as it certainly *should* not, cause him to lose Virginia or any other Southern State at the election." But as regards prohibition, he declares: "Should Governor Smith be nominated as an exponent of the view that the Eighteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution should be repealed or

molested, or that the Volstead Act should be superseded by legislation which would, textually, render the Eighteenth Amendment ineffective, he would, in my judgment, be badly beaten in Virginia and the South and the country."

Senator Glass himself has not begun to doubt the value of the Eighteenth Amendment, and still less does he doubt its permanence in the Constitution. He reminds us that it was adopted before women were made voters, and he believes that any proposal to repeal it or alter it would meet with the resistance of four-fifths of the enfranchised women. He thinks that Governor Smith would be defeated if it were understood that his well-known position in the past as an enemy of prohibition was to any significant extent a contributing factor in his nomination. He sees no reason for putting planks about prohibition in the Democratic platform, but he does see reasons why the nomination of any candidate on the avowed ground of his record against prohibition would be fatal to his success at the polls.

To quote exact words, Senator Glass says: "The country would have to be convinced that Governor Smith is standing for election, not as an enemy of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, or as a statutory nullificationist, but as a Democrat in principle, frankly obedient to the Constitution as it stands."

I. A "Dry" Candidate Demanded, by George F. Milton

HON. GEORGE FORT MILTON, Editor of the Chattanooga News, a prominent leader of Southern opinion and active in Democratic politics, sends a letter for this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in response to a request for his opinion on "Southern sentiment regarding Democratic platform and candidates." Mr. Milton's reply is frank and pertinent as well as a highly seasonable contribution to current political literature.

The Southern Democrats, by and large, are very much interested in the selection of a nominee who can maintain the solid South. Many of us gravely the nomination of Smith, Ritchie, or Reed would endanger the solidity of the only dependable section in the Democratic party, so far as yielding election votes is concerned.

The South, I believe, is more interested in the person of the nominee than it is in the

party platform. Of course, the South does not want a wet plank in the Democratic platform, but likewise the South, as its sentiment is reported to me, does not believe that a wet can be nominated for President, and the curse of his nullification views taken off by the adoption of either a dry or a law-enforcement plank in the party platform.

With anxiety about securing a proper nominee, a man devoted to constitutional maintenance, to prohibition, believing in clean politics and uncontaminated with the filth of city machine politicians, the South is taking steps to put forward Southern candidates for President.

Tennessee presents Cordell Hull. He is the author of the Federal Income Tax, passed immediately after the ratification of the constitutional amendment. He is a student of government, a Jefferson-Jackson-Wilson Democrat, by studied conviction and practice. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee he brought together the warring factions of the party and wiped out the deficit left by the Cox débâcle and turned the party over to new management in 1924 in splendid shape.

It has been a hundred years since Andrew Jackson was elected President, and Tennessee in this centennial year is offering another distinguished Democrat from the Volunteer State. We believe there is a great deal of substantial stuff to the movement for Cordell Hull. He is quite likely to enter the Houston convention with between a hundred and twenty-five and two hundred

delegates. He is no mere favorite son, but a real contender for the prize.

And there are other Southern candidates being proposed by the South. Senator George of Georgia will have behind him the united delegation of his State. Senator Robinson will command eighteen votes from Arkansas. And perhaps Pat Harrison will have the votes of "Ole Miss."

It is not pleasing to contemplate what would be the result of, let us say, a Smith nomination, so far as the South is concerned. A study of the figures of the last two presidential elections has brought me to the conclusion that with Smith as the nominee, five Southern States would possibly turn to the G. O. P., three of these I think are certain—Tennessee, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. In both North Carolina and Arkansas the possibilities are against Smith carrying the State. I am even told that Virginia would go against Smith, and that in Georgia he would travel a rocky road. A shrinkage of votes would be found in the South in the event of the nomination of any wet, though perhaps not so pronounced as in the case of the scion of Tammany Hall.

I am not among those who attach tremendous importance to Al Smith's religious faith, as a liability in the South. I believe that if the Democrats were to nominate such a courageous and able patriot as Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, likewise a Catholic, the party would not lose a single Southern State. It is not Rome, but rum, to which the South objects.

II. Party Conditions in the South, by Two Educators

MR. MILTON'S opinions, as vigorously expressed above, while widely held, would not find complete endorsement among the leaders of thought and sentiment in his own portion of the South. Thus a recognized leader in ethical and intellectual activities writes a letter from which it is permissible to make the following quotations:

Mr. Morgenthau writes with great force, and I feel sure his article will have been widely read. This article does not give much attention to the views of Al Smith on prohibition, but does give considerable attention to the prejudice against him as a Catholic. If you invite a discussion of his record from the standpoint of prohibition, this would naturally be a supplement and

not an answer to the article of Mr. Morgenthau. I have never felt convinced that Al Smith would try to secure the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. His attitude of antagonism to the Volstead Act has been without question.

As for my own views on Al Smith, I have never felt that he was the type of man to be selected for President. At the same time I realize the weakness of the Democratic party, and I do not know how they can possibly win with a candidate selected from the best men in the South. If Smith is nominated, as now seems possible, there will be much defection from Democratic ranks in the South, but in spite of that he will carry most of the Southern States. The danger will be in a few border States

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like Tennessee and Kentucky, where the Democratic majority is not so well established. Personally, I see no hope for a Democratic victory with or without Al Smith. The Republicans have two or three men either one of whom can probably win.

FROM another Southern scholar, widely esteemed for the courage and sincerity with which he upholds his convictions, a firm believer in the practical value of prohibition, but with an international outlook that lifts him above any possible reproach of narrowness or fanaticism, we have the following:

You have rendered a public service in calling forth the able statement of Mr. Morgenthau. The South is ardent in support of prohibition. I personally favor it strongly, because I see the benefits.

The religious question raises in some respects more unreasoning opposition to Smith—K. K. K., Fundamentalists, etc. Many who oppose him on account of Catholicism cloak their real objections under the cry of prohibition.

Yet I am assured by many practical men that the office-holding oligarchy of the South can and will enable Smith to carry the Southern States. Personally I desire to see him nominated as a rebuke to religious bigotry and as tending to break the Solid

South. Many men whom you regard in the South hold this view. Let the voters of this section put conscience into the ballot. The North has not suffered under the mental bondage we have had to endure.

Governor Smith may do a great service to America and mankind by voicing at this juncture the purposes of the common people, especially as a protest to the sordid materialism of the Harding-Coolidge period and the failure to grasp the chance for our country to do something positive for peace through the League of Nations.

About the saddest experience I ever had was in witnessing at Geneva in 1926 the debates of half a hundred nations on America's reservations as to our joining the World Court. It was a funeral affair—America dumb, absent. If Smith can change atmospherically this situation, as Ramsay Macdonald changed Europe in 1924, I shall gladly do all in my power for him. To try to perpetuate the Lodge alignments of 1919 is both foolish and criminal. Failure as a result has followed our foreign policy. The masses of American people crave frank cooperation to reduce the risks of another war.

The only two Democrats who have been Presidents since 1861 were the Governors of New York and New Jersey. In both instances the common people came forward.

III. The Militant Prohibition Stand, by Bishop Cannon

BISHOP JAMES CANNON, JR., holds a position in the Methodist Church of the South which has made him an official leader of great movements for temperance and social advancement. The views that he expresses upon prohibition are not merely personal. They are representative of the prohibition sentiment that is virtuously unanimous in the field of Southern Methodism, as shown by resolutions adopted in local and State conferences. The same views on the subject of prohibition are generally prevalent among Southern Baptists, not to mention Presbyterians and other religious denominations. In response to a request from the Editor, Bishop Cannon has made a brief summarized statement for our readers on this subject, and herewith we present his trenchant remarks on the present attitude of Southern prohibitionists.

correct understanding of the present situation. They are:

(1) The position of "dry" Southern Democrats on the prohibition issue.

(2) The violent attack on the prohibition law and its enforcement, including as the climax the proposed nomination of a "wet" Democratic presidential candidate.

(3) The reaction of "dry" Southern Democrats to that proposal.

We "dry" Southern Democrats hold that Constitutional Prohibition is no longer merely a moot question. It is to-day a fact. It represents the high-water mark attained after many years of effort by the American people "to promote the general welfare" (which is a declared aim in the preamble to the Federal Constitution) by the restriction of the indulgence of the activities of individual members of the social order.

The very same element which is now clamoring for State sovereignty and State

There are three statements which are essential to be made in my judgment for a

control of the liquor traffic formerly flouted the local State prohibitory laws. It fought bitterly the adoption of the Federal Interstate Shipment and Postal Laws. It would doubtless follow the same course should the present law be repealed, and the control of the traffic be relegated to the States.

Now "dry" Southern Democrats believe that the Prohibition Law is a good law, and wherever its enforcement has not been defeated by inefficient or hostile administrative officers, that it has been a great success. By it labor has been enriched, business enlarged, public savings amazingly multiplied, the comforts and security of the home life of the working and middle classes greatly increased, and general social morality advanced. Therefore, it is the determination of "dry" Southern Democrats that the National Prohibition Law shall be maintained and observed and enforced.

But to-day these same "dry" Southern Democrats face the fact that perhaps the outstanding public question is Prohibition Law Enforcement. It is openly demanded by some that the law be modified by weakening amendments. Indeed, by some others, nullification is openly advocated. Lawmakers sworn to uphold the Constitution have been declaring in defiant, lawless fashion on the floor of the Senate itself that certain people will have their liquor, Constitution or no Constitution. The Governors of two great States, although sworn to uphold the Constitution, have flatly refused to cooperate with the Federal Government in the enforcement of the Prohibition Law. They are insistently demanding that the determination of alcoholic content and of enforcement be relegated back to the States, which would inevitably be followed by the former disregard of the rights of the "dry" States.

And now as a climax to these openly "wet" maneuvers, "dry" Southern Democrats are actually faced with the proposition that they shall agree to vote for some avowedly "wet" Democrat who—chiefly because of his known hostility to the Prohibition Law—will be able to secure the support of a sufficient number of "wet" voters in Northern and Eastern States to give him the electoral votes of those States, which combined with the electoral vote of the "dry" Southern States will be sufficient to elect him President of the United States.

In short, "dry" Southern Democrats are asked in the baldest fashion to subordinate their moral convictions to partisan political loyalty. They are invited to commit moral suicide for political office. They are told that they must join in electing some man to be President merely because he is called a Democrat, regardless of antecedents or affiliations. They are offered the privilege of voting for a presidential candidate who has openly declared his bitter opposition to the principle underlying the Prohibition Law, and whose foremost friends and supporters have held the same attitude.

But it is not to be overlooked that such a man with such a record would have the appointment of prohibition enforcement officials, of District Attorneys and Federal Judges, and of Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. His power of veto would extend to all prohibition legislation or appropriations. Above all, he would admittedly owe his election to his "wet" official record, upon the basis of which record his "wet" supporters would confidently expect the weakening and the practical breakdown of the enforcement of the National Prohibition Law.

Faced with such a proposition, there are multiplied thousands of "dry" Southern Democrats who hold openly that they prefer that the Democratic party shall never elect another President, rather than to succeed by such an unholy alliance, such a betrayal of their moral principles, to the damage of their children, their homes, and the communities in which they live.

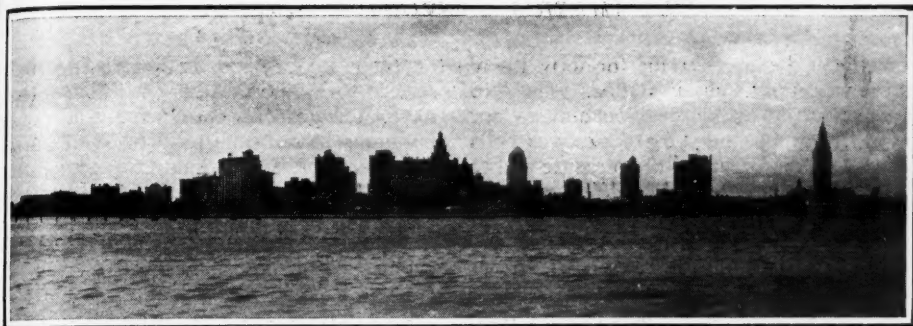
Therefore, they are openly declaring that they will not vote for any man with such records as those of Reed, Ritchie, and Smith. In this crisis they will demand (1) a prohibition law enforcement plank in the platform; and (2) the nomination of a candidate to stand upon that platform who by his utterances, acts, and record is thoroughly committed to the effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and statutory legislation pertaining thereto.

I may be greatly mistaken in my estimate of the extent to which these views are held, but I do know that great numbers of those who are reckoned among the leaders of the moral and religious element of the South have openly and unhesitatingly declared that they will not support a "wet" candidate for President of the United States.

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THE SKYLINE OF MIAMI, FROM THE CAUSEWAY ACROSS BISCAYNE BAY

Miami's Outlook

BY FRANK B. SHUTTS

[It is in response to a request from this periodical that Mr. Shutts contributes the following statement. It pictures the conditions under which the city of Miami and the southern portion of Florida are going forward to sustain the aspirations and claims of the period just before the reaction that followed the so-called "boom" and the West-Indian storm. Mr. Shutts is widely known as the founder and proprietor of one of the foremost of American newspapers, the *Miami Herald*. Before he cast in his lot with the Southern State in which he is now so prominent and influential, Mr. Shutts was a practicing lawyer in Indiana. He established his law firm at Miami in the year 1910, and soon afterward founded his morning newspaper, the *Herald*. He gives us a report of progress that is confident and reassuring.—THE EDITOR]

THE eyes of the whole nation were recently focused on Miami for a twelve-months' period. All the people of the country tried to visit the Magic City during one summer. They came in such numbers that Miami found herself confronted with a housing and entertaining problem such as no city had ever experienced. It was beyond the realm of fantastic imagination. Never before were such thousands of excited people seen continuously upon the streets of any city. Never was such a pandemonium of building and buying, of trafficking and all the convolutions of frenzied finance. All the "investors," near-investors, pretended investors, salesmen, bally-hoo artists and their get-rich-quick hangers-on of the North came to town, took possession, traded with one another, gypped each other, lost their money and went away exceedingly vexed and disgruntled.

The result was that prices went sky high, real estate for miles around was sold at fabulous paper-prices, the Court House was swamped with mortgages, perfect gentlemen fought with their fists on the main streets

over options, a railroad embargo was declared, the necessities of life were restricted and at a premium, an overturned ship blocked the harbor, hitherto orderly and conservative business houses, straining under the abnormal financial pressure, blew out their cylinder heads, and, to put it mildly, we found ourselves in the midst of a purple sea with the motor stalled and the oars overboard. This was followed by the most disastrous windstorm that ever swept the American continent. We were not at all at fault and could not justly be blamed for any part of this crystallized deviltry; nor for the astounding reaction among our vituperative and disappointed friends.

Miami started during this period to bring her housing facilities and her hotel facilities and her recreational facilities up to a point which would enable the city to entertain, in any eventuality, the crowds which were developing. From the viewpoint of pure humanitarianism, we could not let our visitors go hungry or litter up our beaches for sleeping quarters. And being hospitably inclined, we tried to meet all their urgent, and in many cases arrogant, desires.

And so Miami is to-day the fourth city in the world in hotel accommodations. No other city offers more opportunities for recreation and sports; no other city extends such a fervent appeal to the pleasure-seeker or to the home-seeker. And it is the largest city in Florida, with more than 140,000 resident and permanent population.

A Three-Year Program Completed

Three hundred million dollars have been expended within the last three years to the end that Miami shall be able to entertain, comfortably and happily, all the people in the world who may want to come here. That \$300,000,000 building program is now complete, and Miami has celebrated and cheered herself for an entire week to commemorate that great accomplishment. But Miamians did not make this demonstrative gesture because they felt that they were coming back; they did it to congratulate themselves and to show the world that their procession of progress and prosperity, temporarily delayed, is again in full parade.

We have been working for three years, not to come back, but to go forward with increasing speed. We are on our way. The Seaboard Air Line Railway Company has spent \$25,000,000 to extend its line into Miami. Hotels and apartments costing \$12,000,000 have been built. The Florida East Coast Railway Company has invested \$61,000,000 in double-tracking its road, in order that there might never again be an embargo on passengers or freight to this city. Steamship lines have expended \$15,000,000 in building ships to serve Miami from New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Public-utilities corporations have

devoted \$15,000,000 in improving their service to Miami and her visitors. Street paving, new docks, warehouses and public buildings have been constructed at an expenditure of approximately \$10,000,000. A new highway from Jacksonville to Miami, hard-surfaced for 380 miles, costing \$12,000,000, has been completed and automobile traffic has been pouring into Miami from the North.

All these things have been done within the last three years. Many of them were started during the boom, but when the smoke of battle had cleared away, the development was carried forward, because Miamians knew, public utility executives knew, railroad and steamship executives knew that Miami's permanence was unimpaired by the boom and undamaged by the hurricane.

New Highways for the Motorist

The work of development and preparation for the convenience and comfort of visitors and home-seekers is still progressing. The Overseas Highway from Miami southward to Key West, 157 miles in length, following the natural bridge formed by this tropical archipelago known as "the keys," was officially opened to traffic during the month of January. For many miles along this stretch of turquoise sea one may ride with the waves lashing the foundations of the roadway on either side.

The Tamiami Trail, crossing the heart of the Everglades, from Miami to Tampa, will be formally dedicated to automobile traffic about May 1. This represents one of the most difficult and successful engineering feats in the history of road construction in

America. It traverses Dade County, and portions of Monroe, Collier and Lee counties into Tampa. It will afford the motorist a remarkable and comprehensive view of this wonderfully rich domain now being subjected to reclamation. It connects with the Dixie Highway, which terminates at Miami, and with the Gulf Coast Highway, which ends at Tampa, thereby giving tourists an opportunity to start on a motor tour of Florida at Jacksonville,



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MIAMI, WHICH BOASTS OF BEING THE FOURTH CITY IN THE WORLD IN HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS



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INDIAN RIVER BOULEVARD, A PICTURESQUE FLORIDA HIGHWAY

traveling the Dixie Highway to Miami, the Tamiami Trail to Tampa, the Gulf Coast Highway to Pensacola and State Road No. 1 back to Jacksonville, on excellent roads.

Four Crops a Year

The last session of the Florida legislature provided means to complete the drainage of the Everglades and open up for cultivation a new empire in America's last frontier. This land is capable of producing four crops a year and has no competitors in the winter time. Cattle, hogs, sugarcane and truck farming are already being profitably exploited in this vast territory of 4,000 square miles. It will be settled by farmers from everywhere as rapidly as those farmers discover that they can work three months in the year and with smaller investments make more money in Florida than they can earn working eight or nine months in any State in the North.

A City Built to Grow

It has been said that Miami is overbuilt. We in Miami who are familiar with our building operations and our hotel, apartment and dwelling accommodations, do not believe the city is overbuilt, if its inevitable growth in the next few years is taken into consideration. The future of this city is limited only by the number of people who have time, means and inclination to enjoy its advantages, and to make a home or to operate a business at any season of the year, in the most salubrious, attractive and health-giving climate on earth.

In addition to this, Miami is working quietly and conservatively for the estab-

lishment of industries of every character. There has been no frenzied endeavor to obtain manufacturing plants. We have not offered to finance them; we have not offered bonuses of land or tax-exemption to lure factories here, but the fact is that manufacturing industries can be operated in Miami at less cost and to greater advantage than anywhere in the North.

Ideal Conditions for Industries

An efficient plant can be constructed in Miami much more cheaply than it can be built in the North. Our climate obviates the necessity for providing expensive lighting, heating or ventilating equipment. No time is lost by employees due to weather conditions, and production proceeds unhindered every day in the year. The small differential in freight rates is more than balanced by decreased construction, maintenance and operating costs.

Miami is closer to all South American markets by many hundred miles than any other city in this country. Her port facilities are adequate to take care of all requirements. Industrial executives, realizing this, will eventually come to Miami with branch plants or with new plants, solely because of the dictates of economic wisdom.

Therefore, with her recreational and housing facilities, the significant agricultural development opening up at her back door, and her unexcelled attractiveness for industrial enterprise, Miami is not coming back; but with this matchless equipment she is advancing again, steadily and confidently, toward her manifest destiny—the principal city of the southeastern seaboard.

How Florida Is Building Highways

BY FONS A. HATHAWAY

Chairman, Florida State Road Department

[We are bringing forward a new type of statesmanship to meet our problems of internal improvement, and among men who qualify for this roster of public leaders are certain masters of the science and art of highway construction. Among such men, Dr. Fons A. Hathaway of Florida holds a high place. The resources of that State are being made accessible by the rapid building of a network of paved highways. Under Dr. Hathaway's energetic management, Florida's road system is already far greater in mileage than that of any other State of the Eighth District as grouped by the Federal Bureau of Public Roads. Beginning with the tax of one cent per gallon on gasoline about seven years ago, Florida has been courageous enough to advance the tax by degrees until it is now five cents. This is producing an ample fund for the building of Florida's roads, without incurring any public indebtedness. Dr. Hathaway in the present article describes the progress of the great "loop" highway around Florida, which connects at Jacksonville and at Pensacola with the famous east and west road that sweeps across northern Florida and advances by way of Mobile and New Orleans to Texas and ultimately to the Pacific Coast.—THE EDITOR]

WHAT is popularly known as the Florida Loop Highway extends eastward from a point on the Alabama line west of Pensacola to Jacksonville, thence south to Miami, to Fort Myers, north to Tampa, thence to Newport in the northern section of the State, and westward via Apalachicola, Port St. Joe, and Panama City to Milton, then back to its starting point at Pensacola.

It will be seen that in its larger conception the road includes sections of great highways popularly known as the Old Spanish Trail, from Pensacola to Jacksonville, the East

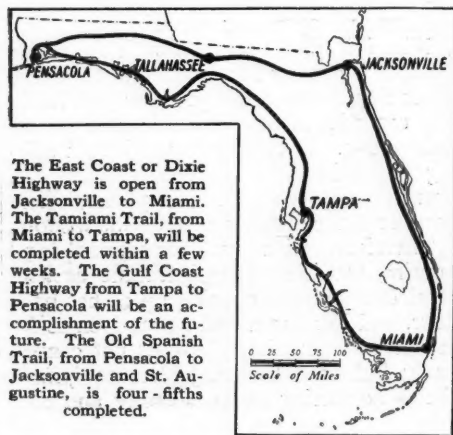
Coast Highway, or Dixie Highway, from Jacksonville to Miami, the Tamiami Trail from Miami to Tampa, and the Gulf Coast Highway from Tampa back into Pensacola.

Even this statement does not give an adequate idea of the full vision, because in addition to the roads mentioned it includes as an alternate route, the Atlantic Coastal Highway, from Jacksonville south to Miami, the Overseas Highway from Miami still further south to Key west, and an alternate route from Tampa northward to Williston and from Williston to Tallahassee, and thence westward to Pensacola.

The section of the Old Spanish Trail in Florida from Pensacola to St. Augustine furnishes the eastern end of that great transcontinental highway which has its inception at San Diego, California, and its terminus at the nation's oldest city, St. Augustine.

It is gratifying to be able to say that Florida has done well with its part of this important thoroughfare. It crosses, in this State, great rivers; and all the bridges have been constructed, including the majestic Escambia Bridge, and fills which stretch for 3.49 miles across Escambia Bay. In addition, 312 miles of the total distance of 386 miles between Pensacola and Jacksonville have been paved, and this paving continues on the terminus of the Trail at St. Augustine.

On the East Coast Highway, or Dixie



The East Coast or Dixie Highway is open from Jacksonville to Miami. The Tamiami Trail, from Miami to Tampa, will be completed within a few weeks. The Gulf Coast Highway from Tampa to Pensacola will be an accomplishment of the future. The Old Spanish Trail, from Pensacola to Jacksonville and St. Augustine, is four-fifths completed.

THE FLORIDA LOOP HIGHWAY AS COMPLETED OR PROJECTED



BUILDING A HIGHWAY ACROSS THE EVERGLADES

The Tamiami Trail, crossing the Florida peninsula from Miami to Tampa, will be opened for traffic on May 1. It traverses the heart of the Everglades, formerly considered waste and swampy land and now rapidly becoming a rich agricultural region.

Highway, between Jacksonville and Miami, the traveler may ride over a paved road the entire distance. It is true that there remain a few miles of county paving which must be replaced by State-constructed paving. Paralleling this road, there is projected the Atlantic Coastal Highway from Jacksonville to Miami. The latter was included in the State system by the last legislature, and though the Road Department has not yet been clothed with authority to expend State funds, many stretches of the road have already been built independently by the counties through which the route passes.

One of the most interesting sections of the Loop from the standpoint of engineering and construction is the Tamiami Trail, and particularly that portion which stretches across the Everglades from Miami on the east coast to Fort Myers on the west coast. As this article is written, the writer is preparing to leave for a visit of inspection, and present plans call for the opening of the Trail on May 1.

Another project which challenges popular interest is the Overseas Highway from Miami to Key West. This road must be built across the Florida keys. At present the State is not authorized to undertake its construction, but Monroe County is proceeding with a well-defined program, and the road is already open with the aid of a ferry service where the thoroughfare is not yet complete.

It should not be thought that the main

purpose of the Loop conception is to furnish a pleasure road, although it must certainly do that, giving an avenue of travel around the entire State. The real benefit is the development of great and beautiful areas of the State which are as yet but little known. Vast expanses of the Gulf Coast—beautiful, fertile and productive—will come into their own, and still one more section of the great State of Florida will enjoy the prosperity for which it is so eminently endowed.

The East Coast is open, the Tamiami Trail is near completion; the future will bring the accomplishment of the early opening of the entire Gulf Coast.



A PORTION OF THE OLD SPANISH TRAIL
This spot is near Monticello, Florida.

The American Riviera

BY J. B. MYRICK

Editor, the Mobile Register

[There is in prospect a large and steadily increasing development not only along the coast-line of the Florida Peninsula but also along the borders of the Gulf of Mexico extending from West Florida, with its metropolis at Pensacola, to the beautiful city of Mobile, Alabama, and thence to New Orleans and along the coastal districts of Louisiana to Texas. What Mr. Myrick, of Mobile, the author of our present article, entitles "The American Riviera" is coming into importance and is being made accessible by its building of highways and great bridges, and its improvement of seaports.—THE EDITOR]

THE late Judge Peter Joseph Hamilton, in his "Colonial Mobile," called that section of the Mexican Gulf Coast in West Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, now more widely known as the Riviera of America, "the borderland between two civilizations."

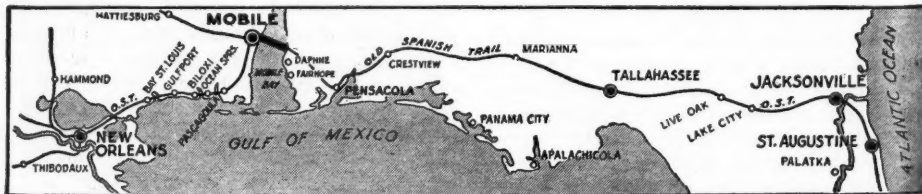
The first plantings of Latin institutions on that coast were made at Biloxi, Mobile, and Pensacola early in the seventeenth century. Then came the conflict with British civilization, and the final development of a distinct type of American, combining characteristics borrowed from the French, Spanish, British, and early Eastern colonial ancestors and influences.

The *Creole*, of mixed European and native ancestry, dominant type along the shores of Pensacola Bay, Mobile Bay, and Mississippi Sound when Jackson's Army pierced that region in 1814, has passed from the scene. A few individuals of the old stock can be found "cross de Back Bay" of Biloxi, in Wolf River settlements near Pass Christian, on Mont Louis Island along the western shore of Mobile Bay; in the southern part of Baldwin County, Alabama, and contiguous territory in Florida. The type itself was practically absorbed by a new

environment without ever having produced outstanding characters capable of making any visible and lasting impression upon their own land or the world at large. They lived, married, fished, bred, sailed their boats, and died, leaving few records and no monuments. This could not be said of the Louisiana *Cajan*, or Acadian, but it is literally true of the Gulf Coast *Creole* of mixed blood.

The present population of the American Riviera combines the joyful aspects of the Latin with the hustling qualities of the modern American, known as the Yankee type.

More has been achieved in the way of progress along that section of the Gulf within the past twenty years than in all the centuries before. This forward movement is most noticeable along the shore, but its influence extends inland for a hundred miles or more. It is evidenced by such growing cities as Mobile, Pensacola, and that chain of Mississippi cities—touching elbows—which includes Bay St. Louis, Pass Christian, Gulfport, Biloxi, Ocean Springs and Pascagoula, all connected by paved highways of the Old Spanish Trail; modern in hotels, streets, sanitation, and cosmopolitan



THE MOTOR HIGHWAY NOW BEING IMPROVED BETWEEN NEW ORLEANS AND ST. AUGUSTINE
The Cochrane Bridge across Mobile Bay was opened last June. The bridge across Lake Pontchartrain, shown on page 270, has been completed within the past few weeks.

atmosphere. Orchards of the Satsuma orange, pecan groves, truck farms, sea-food canneries, and manufacturing plants all tell this story of progress.

If there are those who have retained or acquired the impression that Mobile is a sleepy old Southern city, drowsing over fictitious dreams of a glorious past, such persons are adjured and besought to get these erroneous notions out of their heads. Old landmarks are preserved, and have their rightful place in the picture, but not to the exclusion of new thoughts and aspirations.

A bridge was needed across historic Mobile Bay. Old Mobile had talked about it for a century. New Mobile raised \$3,000,000 and built it, all within one year. It is now complete, an important link in the Old Spanish Trail.

Additional docks were needed to care for the growing commerce of Mobile—Alabama's only seaport. The State was induced, after years of effort, to lend its faith and credit to the port. In this present year the State's \$10,000,000 port terminal system will have been completed, the engineering work of Maj.-Gen. William L.

Sibert, one of the builders of the Panama Canal.

Streets have been paved and other public improvements made and extended. Modern schools have been constructed. A Community Chest has been kept well filled. A fine, progressive and cohesive spirit has been cultivated and maintained.

This public spirit of progress was recently displayed by the reelection of Harry T. Hartwell, twice Mayor of Mobile, by a large majority over an aggressive opposition. As a citizen, a State Senator, and then as a city official, Mr. Hartwell has preached and practised at Mobile the gospel of progress for twenty-five years. His recent electoral majority gives evidence that he represents the true spirit of this New Mobile, in the heart of the American Riviera.

Men of the same type of citizenship are in charge of the larger affairs in other Riviera towns and cities. Many of them, like Hartwell, are native to the soil, while others have sprung from various sections of the North, South, East, and West, creating altogether a new type of Southerner, the Riviera Type.

New Orleans After the Flood

BY JOHN S. KENDALL

[Professor Kendall of Tulane University, New Orleans, is a high authority upon the city with which he is identified and the region tributary to it. He shows us frankly how the great flood of last year has temporarily affected the commerce of one of our most important seaports. Undoubtedly a prompt decision by Congress to provide security for much of the region of which New Orleans is the metropolis would give the city an encouragement to further development which it fully deserves.—THE EDITOR]

NEW ORLEANS felt the effects of the great Mississippi flood of 1927 not so much directly as indirectly. The city itself was never in immediate danger. The contrary impression entertained throughout the country was due to confusion of the flood with the phenomenal rain of April 15, when fourteen inches of rain fell and a bolt of lightning put out of commission one of the principal pumping-stations in the drainage system. As a result, portions of the city were flooded for several days. But all this water drained off before the river reached

its maximum height, and nothing of the sort occurred subsequently.

There was, however, some apprehension over the predicted flood-stages. Unless "crevasses" relieved the situation, a level was possible at New Orleans three feet above the highest record. In that event the city would indeed find itself in peril. Actually the water there never quite reached the height attained in 1922. At the critical moment in the last days of April the Carnarvon levee, eight or nine miles below New Orleans, was dynamited;

"breaks" also occurred in Mississippi and northeastern Louisiana; and the flood gradually subsided. The Cernarvon outlet inundated a small area in southeastern Louisiana, causing damages estimated at about \$6,000,000, payment of which, pledged by the city, is now being made.

On the other hand, the indirect influence of the disaster upon New Orleans was considerable. The effect upon financial movements has been to some extent obscured by the recent rise in the price of cotton. In the flooded district the initial losses were capital losses—houses, cattle, etc.—and have been at least partially replaced by loans, gifts, and the utilization of savings. This probably tended to stimulate the financial movement.

For example, bank clearings for April 16, 1927, while the flood was at its height, were \$10,700,000, and they were about the same on December 31, eight months later. Deposits in New Orleans banks in April totalled \$234,000,000, as against \$265,000,000 for the following December.

There has, however, been a perceptible loss of business. Beginning with April, 1927, the movement of rail receipts has registered a monthly decline, as compared with the customary gain.

Receipts for the first quarter of the year had shown an increase of 3,985 carloads over the corresponding period in the previous year. But since then, to the end of 1927, there was a loss of 23,646 carloads. The principal losses were: lumber, 7,000 carloads; sugar, 1,400 carloads; cotton, 6,000 carloads. The forwardage, nevertheless, has shown a slight increase for the year, but this depends on imports, and not on the products of the desolated region.

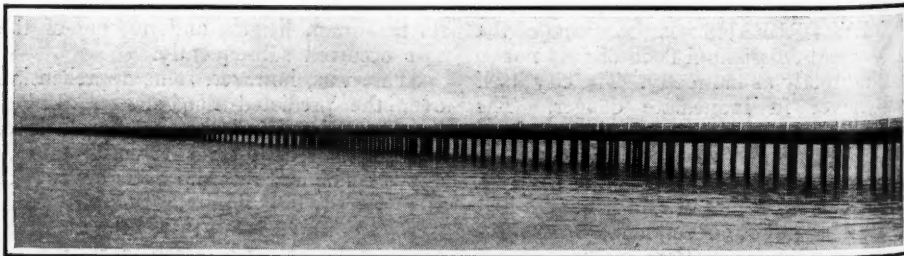
The net ship-tonnage at New Orleans also reveals the adverse effect of the flood.

For the first months of 1927, including the month of April, there had been a gain of 50,676 tons, compared with the same period of 1926. From April on, there was a loss of 283,353 tons. The percentage of loss may not be large in a total of some 17,000,000 annually, but it indicates rather strikingly how the general misfortune has reacted upon the principal city in the affected territory.

Important public works were, however, initiated or completed during the height of the flood period. Engineering and financial arrangements were made, while the Mississippi was at its highest stage, for the construction of the remarkable Watson-Williams bridge across the eastern end of Lake Pontchartrain to Slidell and the Mississippi gulf-coast. This bridge has just been opened. It gives the city a better outlet to the East and Northeast than it has hitherto possessed. The bridge, which is five miles in length, crosses the lake eighteen miles from New Orleans. It is a toll-bridge, built and operated by a New Orleans corporation.

At the same time the State Highway Commission also made arrangements to build the long and costly bridges at Chef Menteur and the Rigolets, on the existing toll-free road which parallels the Watson-Williams bridge. Work on these projects was inaugurated in December.

It is apparent from the foregoing brief survey that New Orleans did not emerge scathless from the disaster. Nevertheless, it is rallying from such injuries as it did receive. This is by no means equally true of the flooded regions themselves. The remarkable revival of the moribund Louisiana sugar industry, however, as a result of the introduction of new varieties of cane, is helping notably a part of the State tributary to New Orleans.



THE BRIDGE ACROSS LAKE PONTCHARTRAIN, NEAR NEW ORLEANS, RECENTLY OPENED

Fifteen miles long, including its approaches, this is the longest all-concrete bridge in the world.

What Happened at Havana

BY WILLIAM HARD

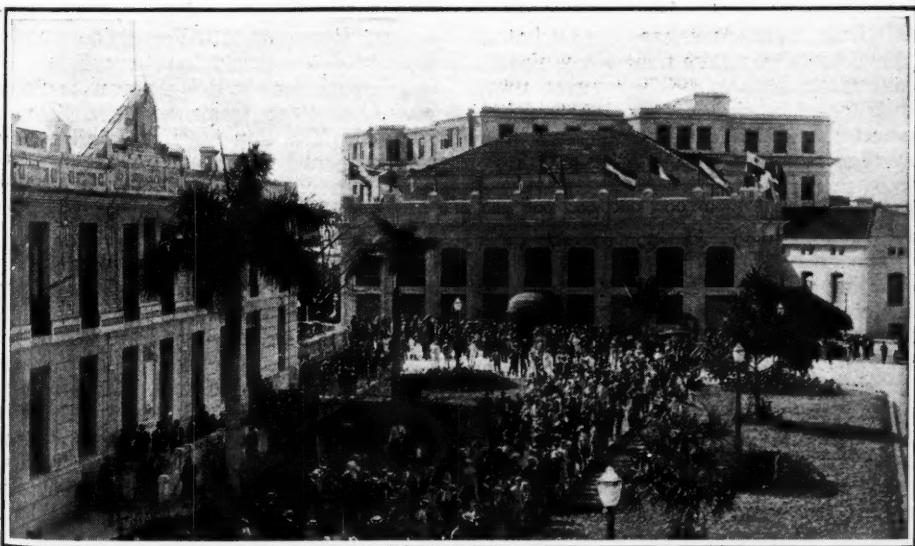
[This report on the Sixth Pan-American Conference was written and cabled to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS five days before the closing session. It is designed to give a clear and timely picture of the work done there, picking out the essentials from a mass of detail and presenting a coherent whole.—THE EDITOR]

I AM writing these words in Havana. The Sixth International Conference of American States has not yet quite concluded its sessions. Nevertheless its character is determined and its spiritual results are fixed, in the midst of impressions too recent to be easily disentangled into a logical picture. I shall try to narrate and to analyze just what this Pan-American Conference has meant.

In the first place the Conference has owed much in its temperament to the charm of its physical surroundings. The beauty of Havana combined with its perfectly extraordinary cleanliness has produced upon the delegates a most agreeable impression, and has helped to incline them naturally toward being reasonably agreeable themselves.

Havana has seemed, and it is, a convincing demonstration of the proposition that sanitation does not necessarily mean the disappearance of a distinctively lovely architecture; and it shows that a Latin-American city can make great scientific and industrial progress without losing its Latin-American touch and tone. In other words, the Sixth International Conference of American States has been meeting in an environment, in which modernity and Latinity are mingled, to prophesy that it is not the fate of Latin-America to be spiritually absorbed by the civilization of the United States.

Quite the contrary. To retain and even to accentuate the marks of its own spirit, in the midst of modernistic developments, the Cuban Government with a lavishness



A SCENE OUTSIDE THE AUDITORIUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAVANA IN CUBA, WHERE THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE WAS HELD

of hospitality truly Hispanic spent large sums of money in anticipation of the Conference on various local improvements, and had especially beautified the buildings of the University of Havana, in which the meetings of the Conference are held.

A vast stone staircase, very broad and very high, takes the pedestrian up the steep hillside to the university grounds in the sparkling Havana air, sometimes warm but always in ardent motion. The yellowish tinge of the stone walls of most of the university buildings seems not dullish but in itself an added brilliance. The "Magna Aula," or great hall, in which the plenary sessions of the Conference take place, is a room of the greatest dignity of dimensions as well as of the greatest delightfulness of decorations. The smaller halls in which committees of the Conference assemble for their labors are, to tell the candid truth, more attractive and impressive than average classrooms in the average university in the United States.

The Self-Restraint of Latin Orators

The pleasantness of the occasion is heightened by the amazing urbanity and self-restraint, in manner as well as in matter, of the Latin-American delegates. I had heard much about Latin-American excitability. I can now say that I have never listened to orators who, as a class, showed so much moderation of intonation and gesture as these Latin-Americans in debating. They hardly ever raise their voices above a conversational level. They never rotate their arms, their delivery is exquisitely graceful and under control. Yet they manage somehow with infinite art to put into this self-restraint a vehemence of thought and of intellectual impact that is astonishing.

The greatest of them in this matter of debating oratory is, I think, Victor Maurtua of Peru. Not Senator James A. Reed nor Senator William Edgar Borah could teach Victor Maurtua anything about impressive parliamentary performance. A huge man, a formidable man, tall, with shoulders that do not seem so much to stoop as to crouch, and with a face as impassive as it is also paradoxically glowering and almost terrifying. He speaks almost in a whisper, with never an outbreak of stridency or of any sort of vocal assertiveness until, by some sort of magic in his power of projecting personality, he makes his slightest

breath become almost a tornado in its effect upon his hearers. It is indeed fortunate for the United States, in this Conference, that in the most difficult and delicate matter before it—namely, the definition of the rights and duties of states in connection with the subject of intervention—Victor Maurtua has been in agreement with the United States delegation steadily and wholly.

He speaks, of course, in Spanish—which leads me to note the strangely misleading atmosphere that can be created by the one fact of language. Eighteen of the twenty-one republics in the Pan-American Union speak Spanish. Since from a certain standpoint all states are equal, and since eighteen states are obviously mathematically six times as numerous as three states, and have six times as many delegations present, it follows that the Spanish language dominates the Conference absolutely.

Mr. Hughes speaks in English, and his speeches are at once translated into Spanish by an official interpreter. Dr. Raul Fernandez, head of the delegation from Brazil, pours his spacious legal learning out before the eyes of the Conference in Portuguese, and at once the official interpreter hastens to enlighten the Conference as to what Dr. Fernandez has said. Virtually never, on the other hand, is any speech by a Spanish-speaking delegate translated into English for the benefit of the delegation from the United States, or into Portuguese for the benefit of the delegation from Brazil, or into French for the delegation from Haiti. The Conference seems to be a Spanish tribunal. The Pan-American world seems to be a Spanish world.

Dreams and Political Realities

Then suddenly, and with a feeling as if of coming out of a whimsical dream, one remembers that while the Spanish-speaking delegates represent eighteen countries, Mr. Hughes and Dr. Fernandez represent between them, as the spokesmen for the United States and Brazil, almost three-quarters of all the human beings living in the Pan-American area of the western world. One then notes a further reality, a reality this time not in the field of population but in the field of politics; and that is that relations between the delegation of the United States and the delegation of Brazil in this Conference have been of the utmost cordiality and intimacy.

This general fact has been of the most intense value to the United States in the matter in connection with which I have already mentioned, the special importance in this Conference of Dr. Maurtua of Peru, the matter of trying to define the duties as well as the rights of states in the course of laying down rules regarding intervention. Dr. Fernandez stands second to no man in this hemisphere in reputation as a jurist in the field of public international law. He was a member of the Elihu Root League of Nations Committee of Jurists which framed the constitution of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Quiet in manner, wary in judgment, shrewd in management, he has been in steady harmony in the matter of the rights and duties of states with Dr. Maurtua of Peru and with Mr. Hughes and Dr. James Brown Scott of the United States.

A Guarantee of Tranquillity

His concurrence with us on this subject, and the general and broad sympathy of understanding between the United States and Brazil on the whole problem of the true nature of Pan-Americanism, would seem to be almost the central fact in this Conference. The population and area and the resources of the United States and Brazil together are sufficient to serve as a considerable guarantee (in any moment of great emergency) for the tranquillity of international American civilization.

In making that remark, however, I would not be taken to mean that there is any such thing as an unwritten and unspoken implicit political alliance between the United States and Brazil, or that there is any such thing among the Spanish-speaking countries as a bloc against other elements in the Western Hemisphere. Happily, this Conference has again abundantly demonstrated that alliances and blocs do not in any important sense whatever exist in our American world. Let us consider, for instance, the most important piece of practical work done by this Conference:

I pass over the temptation to make a catalogue of its achievements, and prefer rather to notice three peaks of its efforts, in order thereby to be able better to point out with sufficient detail its inward motives and aspirations.

The most important piece of practical work done by this Conference is the treaty for the regulation of international com-



AN EPOCH IN PAN-AMERICAN HISTORY

President Coolidge is greeted by President Machado of Cuba on his arrival in Havana. It was Mr. Coolidge's first visit to foreign soil since he has been President.

mercial aviation. The treaty was ultimately adopted by a vote which was unanimous. For a time it seemed likely to produce not harmony at all, but great discord. The United States was suspected of wishing to prevent the Colombian Airplane Company, called the *Scadta*, from getting any franchise to land in Panama. Colombia, on the other hand, was suspected of seeking to make trouble in order to revenge itself for its loss of the Panama area in the days of Theodore Roosevelt. How easy it would have been for the Spanish-speaking countries in the general region of the Panama Canal to make Colombia's old grievance their own, and in the name of a common linguistic and racial tie, to put artificial impediments in the way of our getting a reasonable aviation treaty which would enable us adequately to protect the Canal Zone fortifications from aerial observation.

The highly satisfactory truth is that the countries in question did no such thing. Spanish-speaking delegate after Spanish-speaking delegate rose to say that the right

and duty of the United States to protect the Panama Canal Zone was beyond dispute. The delegate of Colombia itself in the Committee on Communications rose to express the same view. In cordial return our delegate, Mr. Henry Prather Fletcher, who has had large diplomatic experience in Latin America, rose to assert in a manner which commanded complete confidence that the United States had no intention of using the protection of the Panama Canal Zone as a diplomatic blind for the actual prevention of legitimate international flying over Panamanian territory.

Pan-America in the Air

Verbal formulas to fit these states of mind were readily found and the treaty was concluded. In practice it probably means that the Colombian Company, the *Scadta*, which is operated with great success by the German-Russian Dr. P. P. Van Bauer, will fly from midmost South America up northward as far as Panama, and that a New York company called the Pan-American Airways will run a service from North America down to the Canal Zone. Its planes will fly from Key West to Havana and thence by two routes, one from eastern Cuba through Central America, as far south as Panama. Thus the whole general Panama region will get prompt and efficient airplane service. The entire problem, in other words, was considered and settled not on the basis of historical grievances and not on the basis of political international combinations, but on the basis of sound business sense.

Let us then consider the next great peak of the Conference's efforts. This was the dogged determination of Dr. Honorio Pueyrredon, the chief delegate of Argentina, to compel the Pan-American Union to put into its constitution a form of words which would consecrate it to the breaking-down of the so-called exaggerated tariffs and of so-called artificial barriers to international trade in the western hemisphere.

This demand was, of course, directed against the United States; but in Cuba it had a laughter-provoking application. Almost all the delegates smoked cigarettes during sessions as well as between sessions. Everyone of them knew that if he wanted to smoke cigarettes made in the United States he would be obliged (because of Cuban tariff regulations) to pay sixty cents a package for cigarettes which in the United States cost fifteen cents. This one little

illustration was enough to demonstrate the absurdity and vanity of the idea of having the Pan-American Union run all about the western hemisphere trying to sit down on tariffs whenever the tariffs tried to bob up. But Dr. Pueyrredon, who is an extremely energetic and ingenious character, refused to abandon his idea, and continued to press it until it was broadcast to the world as a sure sign of "the impending break-up of Pan-Americanism."

But what really happened? We all came here with our ears ringing with the prophecy that the United States in this Conference would find itself isolated. The Conference is indeed ending with one country in it isolated, but that country is Argentina. Dr. Pueyrredon's demand finally came to be the last obstacle to a unanimous reconstruction of the Pan-American Union through the formulation and adoption of a definite treaty concerning it. Then, while Mr. Hughes sat virtually silent, the Latin-American countries in instance after instance rose to plead with Argentina to retreat from its obstinacy, and to accommodate its views to the perpetuation of Pan-American unity.

Finally the Conference devised a diplomatic method whereby the Pan-American Union can proceed whether Argentina stays in it or not. There was no fraternal rallying to the Latin-American brother against the Colossus of the North. On the contrary, the United States found itself in the Latin-American family, arguing against the stubbornness of what might be called the Colossus of the South.

Was Argentina Really Hostile?

But did it really mean that Argentina was filled with any implacable hostility to the United States? I cannot take any such view. I realize thoroughly the natural fear of the power of the United States felt by its weaker neighbors. To speak frankly, Latin-Americans in their own countries are quite generally accustomed to the idea that if anybody gets overwhelming power, he will use it despotically. They see the United States with overwhelming power in this hemisphere, and they fear that the United States will use the power despotically and overbearingly. As one Latin-American delegate has said to me: "Some of us fear you and the rest of us are scared of you."

Yet consider the case of Argentina in this conference further. I sat one day watching the proceedings of the Committee on Eco-

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conomic Questions. The question under consideration was immigration. Salvador arose to propose that no American country should put a quota, a numerical limitation, on the immigration from any other American country. This was clearly an attack upon a possible future immigration policy of the United States toward immigration from the region to the south of us. How hostile, one might say, on the part of Salvador!

But who rose to stand on the same side with the United States and to declare that immigration was a purely domestic problem over which the Pan-American Union should have no jurisdiction of opinion whatsoever? It was none other than our supposed enemy Argentina, speaking through the Argentinian delegate, Felipe Spil, who twice on the occasion here narrated announced with unyielding firmness the determination of his country to control at need all influxes of foreigners across its borders.

In other words, the interests of Argentina made it disagree with the United States on the subject of tariff, and its interests made it act in harmony with the United States on the subject of immigration. It was following not any theoretical, psychological, linguistic, racial hatred of the United States, but its interests, its practical interests, its legitimate interests. I see no great reason for getting so terribly angry with Argentina on such a score.

I come then to the Convention's third peak—the question whether or not the Pan-American Union should be entrusted with so-called political powers for intervening in international disputes.

Unfulfilled Prophecies of Doom

On this point it was abundantly prophesied that the United States was approaching its diplomatic doom. The Latin-American mice would give the Pan-American Union political powers to bell the cat of Washington, D. C. In fact, it turned out that political powers were denied to the Pan-American Union by a vote of twelve to six, with the United States voting in the majority and with all three of our supposedly pet enemies in this Conference—Argentina, Salvador, and Mexico. Voting according to their own interests or their own theories, they found themselves on the same majority side as we.

I think these facts abundantly prove these two propositions about this Conference: *First*, there is no such thing as Latin-

American solidarity, because Brazil, the Portuguese giant of South America, stands essentially with us rather than with certain of its Spanish-speaking neighbors. *Second*, there is no such thing even as Spanish-American solidarity, because Spanish-speaking statesmen are far too sensible to embark on any invasion or negation of their own interests or principles, in order to gratify any remote dislike for the United States.

In between international conferences of American States we imagine nightmares of Latin-Americans who do nothing but hate the United States, and of North Americans who do nothing but dream of conquering and annexing every Latin American that lives. In the course of International Conferences of American States we discover that the representatives of the governments of the western hemisphere, in addition to their hatreds or ambitions, have solid, sobering interests and highly diversified personal characters. A terrifying theory dissolves into a harmless, human complexity that is the ultimate value, I think, of international conferences of American States. And it makes me believe that they should happen oftener.

A Tribute to Mr. Hughes

I wish I had space to speak of the service that Charles Evans Hughes has rendered to this central merit and outcome of organized Pan-Americanism. There is not a Latin-American delegate here who thinks of Charles Evans Hughes as the representative of deliberate, aggressive financial or military imperialism. Mr. Hughes himself has increasingly become for all elements in this Conference the very embodiment of freedom of expression and freedom of action.

I got my best view of him not in the Conference, but in a jeweler's shop where he was not present. I was buying a watch. The young salesman noted that I was a North American and said, "You down here with Charlie Hughes?" "Well, I'm reporting him," I said. "Charlie Hughes," he said, "I tell you what I always say now, ever since I read about what he says and does. Charlie Hughes is good boy, one of the best boys in the world." When you can pick up that sort of thing about an American statesman in a Latin-American watch store, in a country in which we have twice forcibly intervened, how silly to talk about an irresistible conflict between Latin and Saxon in this hemisphere!

Walter W. Head: Citizen

THE decisions that are taking the Republican National Convention to Kansas City and the Democratic Convention to Houston, are by no means due merely to successful maneuvering or solicitation. That central strip of the country embracing the States from Minnesota to Louisiana lying within the valley of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, with Texas closely akin in all that pertains to economic and human interest, has of late assumed a remarkable position by reason of the vigor, courage, and capacity for leadership that have been displayed by the men and women of the wheat belt, the corn belt, the live-stock belt, and the cotton belt.

There is no deterioration of the human stock—but on the contrary great advancement—in that magnificent north-and-south zone stretching from the Canadian line to the Gulf of Mexico. General Pershing and Colonel Lindbergh belong to that belt. Secretary Hoover was born in it, as was Governor Lowden; and Vice-President Dawes has long been identified with it. Senator Robinson, Senator Reed, Secretary Meredith, and Congressman Cordell Hull are among the Democrats of to-day who belong to this central area.

A Man of the Middle West

Among the remarkable personalities identified with the economic and social progress of the Missouri River Valley, and now enjoying national influence and reputation, is Walter William Head. Mr. Head lives at Omaha, Nebraska, but his activities take him frequently to Chicago, New York, and many other places West and South as well as North and East. He has just entered upon his fifty-first year, and looks at least ten years younger. So firm is his grasp of principles as well as his mastery of details, that he handles a variety of large affairs as easily as the keeper of a country store can sell groceries, dry goods, and hardware at the same time without mental confusion.

To begin with, Mr. Head is the author of the article on agricultural conditions and policies that follows these remarks. He has been close to the soil all his life, having been brought up on a farm and being to-day one of the most practical and successful farmers anywhere in the United States. He spends much time on his ample and productive 2,200 acres, which lie in the Missouri Valley near St. Joseph, Missouri. He sees the needs of farmers, keenly desires their welfare, and believes in the necessity of an important governmental policy, but is not in favor of certain parts of the McNary-Haugen program. But for all this let the reader study his article.

Beginning a Banking Career

As a young man (his boyhood was spent in Illinois and Missouri) he got the best education he could afford. After normal school and business college training, he became a teacher and for several years was the principal of public schools in DeKalb, Missouri. But at the age of twenty-five he decided definitely to take up a business career and became at once the cashier of the DeKalb State Bank.

His banking progress was rapid, because it was based upon industry, integrity, intelligence and remarkable business talent. After three or four years he was a State and National bank examiner, and within a short time was living at the important city of St. Joseph, Missouri, as cashier of the American National Bank. He remained as an active official of that bank for some ten years, when, in 1917, he became Vice-President of the Omaha National Bank, where, in 1920, he was advanced to the office of President. He has retained his interest in St. Joseph, and is still a Vice-President of the Bank in which he was long employed.

Recognition at large of his well-earned prominence in the banking profession led by degrees to the high honor of Presidency of the American Bankers Association in the year 1924. It is enough to say that he is not only respected but greatly admired



MR. WALTER W. HEAD

by bankers in small towns and in large towns from San Francisco to New York.

His Interest in Railroads and Insurance

If a mere list were given of Mr. Head's other business activities, outside of the immediate sphere of his responsibility as chief official of the great Omaha bank, it would almost bewilder the reader. He is President, for example, of the Omaha Trust Company and of the Nebraska Power Company, and is a leader in public-utility enterprises.

But Mr. Head is also prominent and active in the field of railway administration and finance. He is not only a director of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad system but an active member of its finance committee; and he has other official railroad connections.

He has always been interested in the subject of life insurance, and remains chair-

man of the executive committee of an important western company, the St. Joseph Life Insurance Corporation. In tribute to his knowledge of insurance matters, as also to his high personal standing, in February, 1928, he was elected a member of the board of directors of the New York Life Insurance Company.

This is a severely abridged list of the business connections of Walter Head; and the reader might too easily infer that these comments upon the career of a rising American were intended to glorify a kind of devotion to big business and to money-making that could hardly leave any time for things less material. Let us make haste to say, therefore, that Mr. Head is known to a far greater number of people for his non-business interests than for those that are so familiar to bankers, railroad men, and insurance officials. In politics, for example, he is treasurer of the Nebraska State Repub-

lican Committee. A mark of confidence is his membership in the Commission that is building a great \$10,000,000 State Capitol. Near East Relief workers rely upon him as the friend and helper who has long been treasurer of the movement for the Iowa-Nebraska region.

Walter Head as a Neighbor

A good thing to know about any man is what he actually does as a neighbor, among his own people in the town where he lives. Mr. Head has always been interested in children; and he is a leading official of the board that carries on the Child Savings Institute of Omaha, while he holds a like position as regards the House of Hope, which is a home for old people. He is the Omaha head of the National Boys and Girls Club Work, and also an officer of the Friends-of-Art Association. To mention a still more intimate and personal activity, he finds time to teach the Walter Head Bible Class in the First Presbyterian Church. All these other concerns have not interfered with his advancement in the Masonic fraternity to the rank of a thirty-second degree Shriner.

In each of his activities is he cherished because he proves always helpful and generous. He finds time to serve as a trustee of several schools and colleges, including more than one at Omaha, one at Hastings, Nebraska, and one at Grinnell, Iowa; and all of these institutions would gladly bear testimony to the fact that his interest is keen and his relationship sympathetic and valuable. The fact that he has long been one of the national and international as well as local leaders in the Y. M. C. A. movement is quite true, as might be justly inferred.

President of the Boy Scouts

But even yet we have not mentioned the activity for which Walter Head is now most widely known. He is President of the Boy Scouts of America. In this, as in the Y. M. C. A. and in all his business activities, Mr. Head has begun with local and personal effort and has attained the highest honors and recognition through a series of promotions. Including the Scout Masters and the organized boy troops, the Boy Scouts of America are rapidly approaching

a million in number. Mr. Head does not fail to make the journey to New York every month to be present for a day or more at National Scout Headquarters, presiding over the meeting of the Council and conferring with the executive staff.

Last July President Head visited the encampment of New York Boy Scouts in the woods of Bear Mountain Park. He was a member of the party of friends of the movement conducted by Mr. Barron Collier, the group including among other men of prominence in public affairs several Governors of States, along with Governor Alfred E. Smith, himself an enthusiastic supporter of the Boy Scouts.

With this preface about Mr. Head, it is hoped that the reader may be the more eager to study his views on agricultural policy as carefully considered and frankly expressed in the following article. Regular readers will remember that the Hon. Frank O. Lowden, in our number for July, 1927, set forth his mature judgment upon the kind of legislation needed for present farm relief and for permanent agricultural welfare. The two articles are alike in their sincere concern for our farmers and for a stable and prosperous rural life. They differ chiefly as regards the feasibility of parts of the McNary-Haugen measure.

A Plea for Tolerant Study

Mr. Head is not one of the men who reject measures like the McNary-Haugen bill without reading them, simply through prejudice against alleged price-fixing, or against government intervention in the realm of private business. He reflects carefully, with an open mind, and he agrees with the farm leaders of the Corn Belt in the belief that there is a national problem that requires treatment along unprecedented lines. The McNary-Haugen bill has now been reported in Congress with considerable modification. It is not impossible that Mr. Head and Mr. Lowden, who agree to so great an extent, might also find it possible to waive or to postpone proposals upon which their programs do not coincide. Mr. Head's article makes a strong plea for a tolerant re-study, with the hope of finding a workable compromise.

ALBERT SHAW.

Agriculture—A National Problem

BY WALTER W. HEAD

IF ALL the farmers of the United States were members of one great union, if that union were directed and controlled by one man, if, in 1928, that individual should order a general strike of all farmers in the United States, then every man, woman and child in America would find that the "agricultural problem" was not merely a problem, but that it had become *the* problem of every American.

We know that this cannot and should not be brought about; we know that this supposition is merely a momentary flight of fancy. Yet, to a greater or less degree, it has happened in many other far less important industries. The fact that it cannot happen in agriculture, to an appreciable degree, sets that industry apart from all others. It is that which makes the farmers' problem our most perplexing economic enigma.

Other industries, beset by conditions unsatisfactory to the capital or labor employed, have suspended activity, in whole or in part. The suspension has been effective. Sometimes even the mere threat of suspension has been effective.

The farmer has not suspended operations. He has not even threatened suspension. If he were to suspend, even if he were to make a convincing threat of suspension, the resulting problem would take precedence over all others. But, fortunately for our 120 millions of people, the farmers of America have not ceased to cultivate the soil—have not even attempted to suspend production.

Agriculture is the most ancient of industries. The primitive man who picked wild berries from the bushes, near the cave wherein he found shelter, was engaged in agriculture. Through all the centuries agriculture has experienced good fortune; it has also suffered the vicissitudes common to all industry. Originally its sole objective

was to furnish sustenance for the individual. Gradually it has become a specialized occupation. It now furnishes necessities of life not only for those directly engaged in it, but for others who devote their time and effort to other forms of activity. Through all the centuries it has engaged the interest and has benefited by the labor of more workers than have been engaged in any other one industry. To-day, in the United States of America, it is estimated that nearly eleven millions of people are actually engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, more than 26 per cent. of all those employed in gainful occupations. More than thirty millions of men, women, and children depend upon this one industry.

Over-Production in Our Greatest Industry

The men and women engaged in agriculture are creating new primary wealth. They are taking from the soil and from the air chemical and mineral elements which, in various combinations, feed us almost entirely, supply most of our clothing, and furnish a great part of the raw materials for manufacturing, as well as a respectable portion of the commodities of trade and transportation. Agriculture is indeed the predominant producer of primary wealth—wealth taken directly from natural sources. Mining, oil, the fisheries—these industries may be likened to agriculture in this respect but they are insignificant as compared with agriculture, both in the number of workers engaged and in the extent of their activity. The oil industry, like agriculture, is depressed to-day for the same fundamental reason—over-production.

Agriculture has grown and developed with other industries. It has not been a laggard in so far as its destiny has been within its own control. It has increased its aggregate output from year to year. It has increased its per capita output. It has matched the

introduction of labor-saving machinery and processes in other industries by the use of more and improved machinery and equipment of its own, by the development of more productive varieties of grains and more productive strains of livestock, by the installation of more efficient methods and better management—notably by the diversification of products in order that labor may be more fully occupied in all-year activity, and that some of the hazards of single-crop failure may be avoided. As a result of this advancement, the average output of each individual engaged in agriculture was doubled in the fifty years from 1870 to 1920, and has materially increased since then.

Yet, despite this increased productive efficiency, the value of our agricultural products, since 1920, has been only a little more than 10 per cent. of our national income, whereas in the ten preceding years—1909 to 1919, inclusive—it was not less than 20 per cent. This demonstrates conclusively the existence of the serious handicap under which the farm industry and the farmers have suffered in the last eight years.

Production Cannot be Controlled

There is one great inherent difference between agriculture and other industries: The farmer, as a class, cannot control either the amount or the quality of the product to be offered for sale at a given time. The farmer has not, so far, been able to correlate production and marketing to the consumers' demand for his products to the same extent as producers in other lines of industry.

There are five principal reasons why the farmer cannot control the production and marketing of his products, viz.:

1. The large number of independent producers makes effective coöperative organization extremely difficult.
2. Most of his products must normally compete in the world market with the output of other lands, where conditions of production and standards of living vary.
3. He is peculiarly affected by transportation costs in that he cannot fix the place of production at the point most advantageous for marketing.
4. The most important factor of production is entirely beyond his control—weather conditions; a second important factor is largely beyond his control—natural pests.
5. Effective machinery is not available for withholding his product from the market until the maximum active demand.

Prospect for Coöperation

It is not impossible for the farmers to organize for effective coöperation. It is, however, extremely difficult. The necessary isolation of the farmer when at labor, the enforced isolation of the farmer in his life at home, emphasize natural qualities of independent individualism—of individual independence. He is not accustomed to the forces which affect individuals in the mass—to mass psychology. This has been the constant despair of the organizers and the leaders of agricultural coöperatives. But various influences are now effectively at work tending to remove these handicaps. Rural free-mail delivery, the automobile, the telephone and the radio are giving the farmer daily, almost hourly, contact with his fellows and with the world at large. It is becoming constantly easier to submit him to the same forces of mass emotion that affect other men who live and labor side by side. He is becoming more responsive to appeals for mass action.

The outstanding example, for the time being, is the Canadian wheat pool. This could never have achieved its present apparent success without modern agencies for the dissemination of information and propaganda. Because of these developments the failure of coöperative movements in the past does not mean that other coöperative undertakings, organized upon a sound basis and carried on under efficient management, are necessarily doomed to failure.

Shall We Have Farm Legislation?

I have not said that the farmers' products must *always* undergo the competition of world-wide production, but merely that they must *normally* meet such competition. The time is far distant when American agricultural surpluses will disappear, when the domestic demand will absorb domestic supplies and permit agriculture to benefit by a protective tariff as completely as do manufacturing industries at present.

Of greater immediate importance is the belief held by many of our people—farmers, business men, politicians, students of agriculture and economists—that we may hasten this day by legislation, that by legislation we may counteract the baneful effects of competition in a world-wide market. This belief has crystallized in recent years in the demand for price adjustments by legislation, of which the McNary-Haugen bill is

the outstanding example. Whatever may be our first reaction to such proposals, the importance of the problem warrants our careful study of every plan of this character. None should be rejected because of prejudice; none should be cast aside until investigation has shown it to be unsound in principle or unworkable in practice.

Vagaries of Nature

We still have to consider the greatest of all handicaps, the one closely related to and resulting from the other: uncertainties of weather and of natural pests, and inability, because of great and sudden fluctuations in production and because of the length of the productive cycle, to correlate supply and demand.

Compared with all other factors, the farmers' subjection to vagaries of weather is overwhelming. When prices of certain products are high, the farmer may increase his acreage. But, instead of increasing production—which would follow in the ordinary manufacturing industry—the farmer may find that production is far below the record of the previous year, on account of unfavorable weather conditions. Or, in time of low prices, the farmer may curtail acreage in order to reduce production and bring about a more favorable price-level—only to find that abnormally favorable weather conditions have conspired to increase his aggregate production. Not only may these results occur; they have occurred. The average factory owner would suffer a nervous breakdown if he were suddenly faced with a similar inability to control his own output. It is evidence of the farmer's courage and philosophic nature that he continues, in the face of such uncertainties, to give way no more than he does to the lure of untried measures of relief.

Second only to the uncertainties of weather, and closely linked thereto, are uncertainties due to natural pests. The chinch bugs and rust have materially interfered with the production of wheat; the boll weevil has repeatedly curtailed the production of cotton; destructive blights and parasites have devastated orchards; the corn borer, in certain sections, now threatens to curtail the production of corn. Agricultural scientists, encouraged by governmental support and assisted by governmental appropriation, have developed preventive measures which have limited but not eliminated these hazards.

But our success in overcoming these handicaps is still subject to uncertainties of sunshine, of rainfall and of wind. No other industry confronts so great a problem. No other industrialist is faced by such utter inability to control the major factors of his own business. At times, these hazards bring prosperity—to farmers in areas which are not, for the time being, affected.

Reduced productivity in Kansas, in South Dakota, in Minnesota, or in North Dakota may reduce the supply of wheat and increase the price at which Nebraska farmers can sell a "bumper" crop. A "short" crop in Canada or in the Argentine may be accompanied by a record-breaking crop and high prices throughout the United States. But such prosperity—for one section or one country, gained at the expense of other sections or other countries—is temporary, is fleeting; inexorably, in due time, the conditions are reversed.

A Market Likewise beyond Control

Closely akin to the uncertainty of agricultural production, is the uncertainty of marketing. The farmer does not control his market.

In recent years we have witnessed an increasing tendency by manufacturers of nationally distributed products to fix not only the prices at which they sell their products to the dealer, but to fix the retail price as well. Their ability to do so has been proved by their practice; their right to do so has been tacitly recognized by the courts. The farmer, so far, cannot do this; he cannot even begin to do this. Lack of credit facilities limits the ability of the average farmer to withhold his products until he can sell them advantageously. Even when and if credit is ample he frequently is handicapped by lack of adequate storage facilities. His output—of grain, of livestock, or of other products—normally moves to market when it is ready for the market, not when the market is ready for it.

Argument as to what may be done does not alter the fact that, in practice, the farmer's market ordinarily is a buyer's market, not a seller's market. There is coöperation by buyers of farm products—not absolute, but to a considerable degree; there is no appreciable coöperation by sellers. There is deliberation by buyers, who are usually able to pick the time and fix the amount of purchases; there is no marked degree of deliberation by sellers.

Furthermore, the cycles of agricultural production are too long, the productive process takes too much time, to enable the farmer to take advantage of sudden changes in the market price. Frequently—*after production is fixed*—prices fluctuate radically. In 1920, at the primary markets, after the wheat was sown, the price dropped from \$3.07 per bushel to \$1.53. After the corn was planted, the price dropped from \$2 per bushel to 58 cents. The price of good ewes dropped from \$18 per head to \$4 per head. In 1927—last year—after the spring pig crop had been produced, while the hog was being developed for market, the price dropped from \$12 per hundred-weight to \$8. Cotton, in 1926, dropped from \$19 in July to \$12.75 in December. When prices fluctuate to these extremes, the farmer cannot suspend production; he cannot then curtail the supply. He must finish the productive cycle, a period not of days or weeks, but frequently of months.

Where to Look for Relief

These are some of the factors which constitute the agricultural problem. These are some of the elements which make it the most important problem we face today.

What is the solution? Only a wise man, or a foolhardy one, will claim infallibility in the answer.

Agriculture will continue, necessarily, to experience periods of relative prosperity and relative depression. This has been true of all industry. This will continue to be true of all industry unless and until we achieve a millennium of organization, of exact correlation of supply and demand in every field of endeavor. These temporary cycles tend to equalize their own effects. We are concerned with the more permanent causes and effects which have tended to place agriculture at a disadvantage, compared with other industries.

It appears to me that relief must be sought in the following fields:

1. Increased individual efficiency.
2. Increased demand for farm products.
3. Equalization of transportation costs.
4. Greater control over the marketing of farm products.
5. Equalization of opportunity in so far as it is affected by legislation.

Unquestionably a part of the solution lies in increased efficiency of the individual farmer. Other industries eliminate the incompetent, the improvident, and the

imprudent by the fierce fires of competition. Those who are capable survive; others find their way into the bankruptcy courts or pass into oblivion by other routes. Agriculture does not lend itself so readily to this sort of elimination. The incompetent farmer can at least raise food for his family. He may be poverty-stricken, but he does not starve. He moves from one poorly kept, profitless tenant-farm to another, equally forlorn, equally profitless—a handicap and a menace to his more capable fellows and to the agricultural industry. He is rarely forced clear out of the agricultural picture.

Handicap of the Inefficient Farmer

But, even if this be deemed a theoretical solution of our problem, it falls short of practical achievement in two respects: First, the numbers affected are too great; second, even the competent farmer is not adequately protected or adequately rewarded. In the aggregate, over a period of years, we produce about what we need of the various products of agriculture. The elimination of all the unfit and of all the misfits would leave an insuperable gap in the machinery of agricultural production.

Instead of elimination by the "survival of the fittest" we must have elimination by education, by the improvement of the unfit, by the transformation of the misfit. For this tremendous task, we have to-day a group of wonderfully effective agencies. The United States Department of Agriculture, the various agricultural colleges and schools, State departments of agriculture, and county agents have been immeasurably beneficial. Improved means of communication, plus an increased responsiveness by the farmer to the constructive program of these agencies, give promise for the future. Increased efficiency in past years has been achieved, in part, by greater diversification of farm products.

The one-crop farmer is an economic monstrosity. Gradually he himself is recognizing the necessity for a well-rounded program of production, including grain, livestock, poultry and dairy products. This is particularly important in aiding him to survive the hardships of temporary depressions affecting particular products. The farmer must also recognize the fact that the increased use of machinery and mechanical devices will lower costs of production, will reduce waste, will improve the quantity and quality of his products.

There must, however, be a more sweeping remedy than improvement in individual efficiency. We must consider an increase in the demand for agricultural products—not the increase which naturally comes by reason of increased population, but one which may be brought about by the discovery of new uses for materials produced on the farm. Government, quite properly, may aid private research in this activity.

Residents of the "corn belt" are interested to-day in the promise that is held forth by chemists for the manufacture of various building materials from corn-stalks, heretofore a comparatively wasted by-product of the farm. Even though this may not prove to be commercially feasible, unquestionably there is great possibility of discoveries which will find new uses for agricultural raw materials. Diminishing supplies of other materials, creation and development of new consumer desires, provide unlimited potentialities.

Transportation and Taxation Burdens

In the search for a reduction and equalization of transportation costs, we turn naturally to the development of waterways and the consolidation of railway systems. We cannot escape the fact that the great productive areas of the Central States suffer now under a serious transportation handicap—not due to inadequate rail facilities, nor to incompetent railroad management, nor to arbitrarily excessive rates, but to the inherent cheapness of water transportation as evidenced by the benefits which accrued to the States on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, following the completion of the Panama Canal.

We must, I believe, commit ourselves to prompt action to open the Great Lakes to the Sea by the St. Lawrence waterways project and to the development of major inland waterways—to be operated in co-ordination with and as adjuncts to existing rail facilities. We must, however, be careful not to be misled by the lure of a theoretical panacea which may not be economically sound. We must step forward promptly wherever and whenever we are assured that the pathway lies on solid ground.

While we are considering the fixed charges imposed upon the farmer's operations by transportation costs, it may be well to digress for a moment to consider another serious fixed charge—the burden of taxation. Statisticians tell us that taxes on farm

property in 1926 were approximately 250 per cent. of what they were in 1914, whereas the farm income was only 130 per cent. of the 1914 figure. An analysis of taxes in the State of Wisconsin disclosed that taxes absorbed 30.6 per cent. of net farm income, as compared with 29.2 per cent. for steam railroads, 22.1 per cent. for miscellaneous business corporations, 19.6 per cent. for mercantile corporations, and 15.7 per cent. for manufacturing corporations. Farm property is tangible. It cannot be hidden from the assessor.

The Major Problem

We come now to the major agricultural problem, the most perplexing of all. In this day of organization, in this day when other industries are benefiting by a better understanding of the operation of economic law, in this day when other industries are steadily progressing toward the elimination of uncertainties, *we must somehow reduce the disastrous effects of the major uncertainties peculiarly inherent in agriculture.*

For the removal or alleviation of these uncertainties we must seek and receive the aid of all other industry, of trade and of commerce, of finance, of government. This aid must be given ungrudgingly because these handicaps make it impossible for agriculture—in and by itself—to solve its own problem, and because agriculture is so fundamentally important that self-preservation dictates coöperation by every other interest and every other activity.

I am not yet ready to subscribe to all of the provisions of the McNary-Haugen bill which was vetoed by President Coolidge, nor the revised Surplus Control bill introduced in the present session of Congress. My hesitation is by no means altogether due to its tendency toward governmental price-fixing. As a business man I admit that all industry has been stimulated by the protective tariff. Labor has received legislative protection by the restriction of immigration, which I thoroughly approve. Finance and business generally have been stabilized by the creation and development of the Federal Reserve system. I believe that these governmental policies have benefited every individual American.

Agriculture and those engaged in agriculture have enjoyed their share of the beneficial results of these acts. The tariff and the restriction of immigration have increased the purchasing power of those

who, collectively, constitute a great part of the domestic market for farm products; the Federal Reserve Act has increased the ability of commercial banks to finance agricultural operations as well as manufacturing and commercial operations. Agriculture is still justified, however, in seeking direct and specific protection—direct and specific equality—provided it can present a practicable and feasible plan for achieving this result.

Tariff Aspects

We are frequently told that government—by means of the tariff, by means of immigration restriction and by other policies—has forced agriculture to remain at a lower level of prosperity than other industries. Many people who are affected by this discrimination feel that the remedy is to “put stilts under agriculture.” I have not been able to convince myself of a practical method of achieving such a result by legislation which tends toward governmental price-fixing. Many others believe that the real remedy is to shorten the stilts under other industries by a substantial reduction of the tariff.

It may eventually be necessary to effect some reduction of certain tariff schedules, but this suggestion is fraught with grave danger. Agriculture, as a part of American industry, has been benefited by our present tariff policy. So has labor. So has business generally. We must take care—and “we” includes agriculture—that agricultural relief in this direction is not attained at the price of a general reaction in business.

What the Government Could Do

I am ready to subscribe to that part of the McNary-Haugen program which involves the principle of providing capital for the establishment of sound, ably managed coöperatives, for the adequate financing of the agricultural marketing process. I do not recommend capital contributions by government, but I am ready to consider capital advances or capital loans by government—similar to the initial subscription of capital to the Federal Land Banks—and supervision by government of the machinery of marketing.

I am not generally an advocate of the injection of government into business, but I am willing that government—with the aid, assistance and counsel of business—should attempt to set up the necessary structure which will permit agriculture to

function as a reasonably unified industry. Money advanced by government should be repaid, with interest, as it was repaid in the case of the agricultural finance operations in the post-war period. Supervision by government should be non-political, competent and efficient, as it has been in the case of the Federal Land Banks.

To meet, partially at least, the handicap imposed by surplus production, I favor the creation of warehousing and credit machinery by private finance and government—the latter including the credit facilities of the Federal Reserve and the Intermediate Credit Banks—which will enable agriculture to control the disposition of ordinary surpluses. Such machinery very probably will not be effective in controlling the disposition of surpluses which recur in successive years, but it should be effective in preventing sudden radical price changes due to temporary surpluses. To a considerable degree this should not involve the creation of new machinery or the supplying of new equipment as much as the complete use and coördination of existing facilities of storage and financing.

Because of the comparatively long productive cycle of agriculture it will be necessary that provision for producing, warehousing, and marketing agricultural products be adequate to cover a longer period than that which would be necessary in the case of other commodities. This relief will not be completely effective until it includes some provision for financing the storage of products on the farm, a problem which requires further study.

To supervise these activities—to provide further for proper governmental participation in solving the agricultural problem—we should have a Federal Farm Board composed of not more than five members appointed by the President, of which the Secretary of Agriculture should be an ex-officio member.

In this discussion there is no panacea. There is no magic wand which may be waved to give immediate and complete relief. But if the best thought of New York and Nebraska, of Washington, D. C., of Alabama, Vermont, Minnesota, and California—of all industry, of all business, of all professions—is devoted unselfishly to coöperative action along these lines, then this great problem, affecting all industry, affecting every American, will be satisfactorily solved.

"America Comes of Age" —In Europe

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. American Proposals

IN EUROPE, during the weeks since I last wrote here, both foreign and domestic affairs have been dominated by a single circumstance. The press, the magazines, public speeches and private discussion have been concentrated upon the United States. Never before, during, or since the war has the United States been even comparably "news" in the journalistic sense. Never, so far as I am aware, have both the news and editorial columns of the whole European press been devoted in anything like the same extent to American affairs.

For this phenomenon there has been, to be sure, a certain explanation in the mere progress of events. In Congress Secretary Wilbur has set forth the new naval program, and the European public has been made aware both of the nature of this program and of the evident purpose of the American people to support it. Equally significant to European eyes have been the discussions between Secretary Kellogg and M. Briand over the proposed treaty to outlaw war. Finally, the spectacle of the Pan-American meeting in Havana has been a fitting climax.

In the larger sense, these events have served rather to crystallize European opinion than to create it. For all the years since the outbreak of the World War, and increasingly in the period marked by our withdrawal from direct intermingling in European affairs, Europe has been striving to find some explanation of the United States. It has sought some political explanation, some formula, which might as easily sum up American purposes as security sums up French, or sea power British interest.

During this time there has been a steadily increasing knowledge of the physical power of the United States. Ameri-

can prosperity, wealth, the efficiency of our economic methods and the almost incredible solidarity of capital and labor, have been appraised and appreciated.

Politically, on the other hand, Europe has been more or less contented for a long time to believe that we were immature and ignorant. In a word, Europe has regarded us as children, who, in André Siegfried's phrase, had not come of age. And along with this conviction went the other, that when we did grow up we would be like Europeans.

What stands out to-day as most striking in European opinion on America is the relatively recent perception that politically, too, America has come of age. It is coming to be understood that henceforth it will be necessary to take some thought of purely American ideas of the future of the United States, and that our country does not intend to regulate its policies or its performances by any European conception.

On the contrary—so at least it seems to Europe—not only is the United States resolved to follow its own line, but in its relations with Europe it is more likely to insist upon European compliance with its own conceptions than to bow to European practice. As a consequence Europe has suddenly and acutely become politically aware of us. No longer sustained by the cheerful faith that we would one day become Europeans, it is now with effort and anxiety trying to calculate what are to be the consequences, the political consequences, for Europe of our purpose to remain American.

When, in 1870, Prussia, with its German Allies, defeated France and established the German Empire, the traditional European system was disorganized. It was necessary to reconstruct the whole edifice on a different basis and with different values.

The arrival of a great new power, which in the next years was destined to expand marvelously, required the transformation of all the intricate machinery of European balance of power.

The emergence of the United States as the greatest of all world powers in 1918, at the close of the war, has had something of the same consequences—only these consequences are doubled and trebled in magnitude. For almost ten years, however, Europe has assumed that in some fashion or other we should slip back into our old rôle, cease to trouble European combinations, and become once more negligible because, with all our resources, we were as yet politically unformed and unaware.

What has happened on this side of the Atlantic in the last few months—for I am again writing from Europe—has been the final appreciation of the United States, not merely in theory but in fact, as a political force. The old idea of American coöperation with Europe on European terms, born of our participation in the war and stimulated by the Wilsonian episode, has collapsed. While Europe now understands that during the past decade its own political ideas have made little or no progress in the United States, it is unpleasantly conscious that American power to influence Europe has grown at a rapid pace. Having begun by treating with tolerant amusement the American idea that we could live without Europe, it is now wrestling with its relations to a nation which can live without it, but without which it cannot itself live.

For an American to understand the present European repercussions of his own

country's deeds and words, it would be necessary to spend a few weeks on this side of the water. This brief time would enable him to appreciate to what an extent American penetration had gone, to what a degree the shadow of Uncle Sam was over the whole continent from Land's End to the Urals. Such an American, too, if he happened to recall the fight within and without the United States Senate over ratification of the Peace Treaty and our entrance into the League of Nations, would be interested to note another thing. Precisely as American discussion at that time was filled with apprehension of any action which opened the door to European invasion of the United States, so, to-day, Europe is aroused by disclosure of the patent fact that an American invasion of Europe has taken place.

In all modern history Europe has faced the fact or possibility of some one European Power's hegemony, but always the problem has been in a sense domestic. France, Germany, Britain might dominate, but the center of gravity remained in Europe. To-day the circumstance steadily obtruding itself upon European consciousness is that all European countries are in a similar position of physical and financial inferiority.

Here is a real revolution in European thought, a revolution affecting us immediately, and likely to have consequences for many decades to come. For this reason I shall try in the present article to sketch this European state of mind as it reveals itself in the several questions which have current interest. Chief of these are the Navy, the peace treaties, and the Pan-American Conference.

II. Sea Supremacy

Last month I dealt at length with the British consequences of the American decision to build a Navy satisfying the American conception of parity. What is significant in the present discussion is that Great Britain has successfully established, all over Europe, the British conception. Stated baldly, this is that the United States is deliberately and consciously "out" for naval supremacy in the world.

When Secretary Wilbur announced his naval program, and the press and public opinion of the United States showed evident readiness to meet the expense of carrying out the recommendations, there was

only one view expressed on the subject from Paris to Moscow, from Rome to Berlin.

Europe, continental Europe, said instantly that the United States had challenged British sea power, that the challenge could not be taken up by the British, and that at a single stroke we had effectively broken a British hegemony which had lasted for several centuries. "What was won at Trafalgar was lost at Geneva," was the comment of one witty Frenchman. By this single resolution, too, Europe saw America at last decisively undertaking to play the rôle of a great power, a world power, in the European sense.

But what did this decision mean for Europe? First of all it meant ruin of all the system of peace which had been created by and through the League of Nations. That system rested upon provisions in the Covenant which bound all member nations to unite in coercing any country guilty of making war.

Chief among all these weapons of coercion was that double weapon of blockade and economic embargo. As for the naval weapon, primary reliance was obviously the British fleet. But what could the British fleet accomplish against Italy or Germany or France (when any one of these deliberately destroyed the peace of Europe), if the United States refused to recognize the blockade, declined to share in the embargo, determined to use its superior fleet to break the blockade and permit its products to reach the nation under ban of the League? Britain was faced by the possibility that the attempt to employ her fleet to carry out a League decision would bring her into collision with the United States. This made it inevitable that Britain would not only refuse in advance to act, but would at once begin recasting her policy to escape such entangling responsibilities.

British policy at Geneva, guided by the peculiar circumstances of the Empire, had already been disclosed in a complete refusal to undertake the responsibilities of the Geneva Protocol, which was only an extension of League responsibilities. In the face of the American decision Britain became more and more certain to oppose the whole Continental conception of peace, which is peace maintained by the collective force of the member nations.

In challenging British sea power then, we struck a deadly blow at the whole European conception, and especially at the League of Nations as it had evolved in the years since the Paris Conference. This fact in itself would explain why most of the comment over here in Europe, particularly in France, has been friendly to Britain and critical of the United States. Beyond this point, however, lay a patent fact. If the United States were now to gain mastery of the sea, there would pass from Europe what has been perhaps its chief source of world power and hegemony since the triumph of Rome over Carthage transferred the seat of sea control from Africa to Europe. Not merely would our power become absolute in all the waters which surround both

Americas, but our will would equally become dominating in the Pacific.

All Europeans were more or less acutely conscious that financial and economic power had passed to the United States following the World War. However, while the United States remained isolated from European affairs, comparatively impotent in military and naval forces, those losses were to be regretted but were not intolerable. Precisely as long as there was no sign of any American purpose to express financial and economic power in political terms, Europe remained calm.

Our decision to build a "supreme" navy, the sudden announcement of the billions we meant to expend, of the numbers of great cruisers we had put into our program fairly took away European breath. Again I say, one had to be in Europe to appreciate what it meant. Newspapers from one end of the Continent to the other suddenly set forth the statistical side of the American program, and followed this with ample comment. Here was a final demonstration of the fact that we not only were able to transform the whole world situation at a single stroke, but now intended to do it.

Almost overnight, then, there began that discussion of American imperialism which has never since ceased. Europe, with its long experience in dealing with successive aspirants for world domination, instantly read into American action the purpose which had lain behind French, German and British action through the centuries.

Between the British and Continental points of view there was, to be sure, a certain shade of difference. Not even when the Wilbur report was made and the American state of mind duly reported, could British opinion quite bring itself to believe that the American decision was real. Always there remained—and remains—the hope that in some fashion American purpose will be modified, that we shall change our mind, fail to build the ships, come to some new conference, and there abandon our Geneva contentions.

The Continent, on the other hand, sees the program as realized already. It knows we have the power to build, and it knows that by building we can lay hands upon sea supremacy. It reads into our preliminary steps the evidence of a purpose as clear and definite as was seen in German purpose in the years preceding the World

War. British blundering at Geneva, which precipitated the issue, it condemns with scorn. British belief that in some way the threat will be averted, it rejects as childish.

Back of our decision to build a fleet which Europe regards as the superior fleet, the Continent sees the purpose to replace Great Britain as a world power. Moreover, mere proclamation of our purpose has been, for British prestige in Europe, an incalculable injury. Financial power has passed to America, economic power is slipping from British hands to many German, American, French. Naval power remained, but that too is now destined to vanish.

So the Continent, which for many yesterdays talked about Anglo-Saxon hegemony, firmly convinced that in the end Great Britain and the United States would go into partnership to exploit the universe, now discusses American Imperialism and its fatal consequences for British Empire. It is felt that this has a shattering effect on all Europe.

One further fact must be appreciated. With the announcement of our naval program, the whole discussion of disarmament in Europe becomes academic and destitute of reality. In basing our policy of naval construction upon the doctrine of security, we have adopted in effect the

theses of all the armed countries of Europe. France, Italy, Poland, and the Little Entente, all believe themselves threatened by immediate dangers such as belong in the recent past of all of them. To urge the limitation of their armies becomes fantastic when a country as great, powerful and remote as our own undertakes an enormous military protection against dangers which to Europe seem frankly imaginary.

It may well be said by any American that Europe has done little in the way of practical disarmament, and that nothing happened at the Preliminary Disarmament Conference at Geneva last year to give promise of real progress. This is substantially true, but it is equally true that the American naval decisions will make a resumption of discussions difficult.

If so far Europe has done little but talk about disarmament, in the near future even this discussion will cease to be serious. Armies will certainly be limited and even reduced as a consequence of financial difficulties in some countries and improved foreign relations in others; but at the same time the idea of armed peace will again become stabilized. In the European mind that country is safest which has undertaken the most extensive program of armed protection in the world.

III. Outlawing War

When one turns to the second significant incident of the recent past, the proposal to outlaw war, one touches upon a subject which more than any other illustrates the profound difference between American and European conceptions. What was the origin of the proposals made by M. Briand, and what did he hope to accomplish by making them?

In the first place, there was in France no thought of accomplishing anything which could even remotely contribute to the elimination of war. Even M. Briand, who is an orator and not in any sense a thinker, had no such idea. His proposal was based upon the preliminary assumption that fact had already outlawed war between the United States and France. No war had ever taken place, no war was even now thinkable.

On the other hand, numerous ready messengers from America had informed the French Foreign Minister that the idea of

outlawing war had not only a certain vogue in the United States, but also was the pet theory of the redoubtable Borah. Great Britain was notably in bad repute in America because of the Naval Conference. French relations, which had been unpleasant from the Washington Conference period to the war debt discussions, were not yet liquidated by any contract.

Nevertheless there had been within the year a distinct improvement in Franco-American feelings. The Legion meeting in Paris had resulted in a definite recurrence of American feeling for France. The achievements of Poincaré had restored American confidence in French economic stability. Both the existing French Government and the Republican Administration in Washington were facing the approach of a national election. For both it might prove a signal benefit if they could exchange vows never to fight each other.

What Briand was thinking about was

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the moral benefit of a double renunciation—on the part of France and the United States—of a war which was so completely unthinkable that no system of protection had ever been created to meet the possibility of it. Materially, practically, the gesture amounted to nothing; politically, sentimentally, it might prove profitable. It was, in sum, nothing more nor less than an effort on the part of the Frenchman to advance the cause of Franco-American friendship by a French tribute to an American conception.

When Secretary Kellogg proposed to extend the idea, to expand the outlawing of war from a purely Franco-American affair to a contract in which all great powers signed the pledge not to resort to war with one another, everything in the proposal was, from the French situation, changed. For in Europe, by virtue of the League of Nations Covenant and all the subsidiary agreements made later between special powers, war is the basis of peace.

In other words, under the League of Nations system, all member nations—as I pointed out earlier in this article—are bound to go to war against a nation which deliberately and aggressively disturbs the peace. Great Britain is further bound under the agreement of Locarno to fight either France or Germany, if either disturbs the *status quo* on the Rhine by aggression. So is Italy. This British guarantee is for France a most precious insurance of security. But along with this Locarno agreement in the West goes the situation in the East, where France is bound to defend Poland and Czechoslovakia, to maintain the *status quo* on the Vistula and the Elbe, as Britain must maintain it on the Rhine.

Suppose that Britain, France, Germany and Italy should join the United States in a declaration outlawing war in their mutual relations. Suppose that a few years hence Germany should seek by force to recover the Polish Corridor. France would then be stopped from carrying out her pledge to Poland, and Poland would be doomed without French aid. Not only that, but the fact that French hands were tied in advance would be a new incentive to Germany to undertake such an operation. Suppose, under similar circumstances, that the eternal Albanian dispute should culminate in hostilities, and Italy should attack Yugoslavia. France, though bound by the League and by separate pact to stand by

Jugoslavia, would be condemned by Mr. Kellogg's contract to stand aside. Of course, the thing goes deeper than French detail; all Europe is to-day organized upon the basis of the League Covenant, the League procedure, the League idea. What Mr. Kellogg proposed, therefore, struck at the whole intricate system of European order.

M. Briand had been planning a pleasant little Franco-American picnic, the exchange of polite, friendly, but meaningless words. Mr. Kellogg suddenly transformed the thing into a prospective international exchange of pledges which, from the French point of view, would compromise not merely the French situation but the whole European system as it had been evolved since the war. The British view, the whole Continental view, coincides with the French. Nations which have solemnly pledged themselves under certain circumstances to go to war, cannot honorably evade the obligations thus accepted—by signing a new contract which eliminates war from their future actions.

M. Briand was acting upon a wholly amiable impulse. Urged by not a few visiting Americans, imagining that he could humor American opinion and advance the domestic political interests of his group by exchanging words which in Europe meant nothing but in the United States seemed to be held important, he got himself into a hole. This delighted his opponents, caused regret to all friends of Franco-American friendship, and gave undisguised amusement to Europe generally and Great Britain particularly.

It must be noted that the American course had very definite European consequences. It seemed to indicate that the United States had no more than the vaguest notion of what had actually been agreed upon between European nations in the League of Nations.

America, which to the European mind was embarking upon a naval program envisaging world supremacy, was also seeking to break down that League of Nations it would not join. Were we not actually conducting against the League of Nations a direct if veiled offensive, designed to destroy it because in it we saw the possibility of some later European confederation, which might limit our world power? Certainly European comment did not shrink from such an explanation.

We may lay aside this detail as too absurd for serious consideration. What the Kellogg-Briand discussions did make clear was that, for a future which cannot yet be measured, any such general proposition as outlawing war has as little chance of obtaining serious European consideration as would the proposal in the United States to abolish cancer by an Act of Congress.

By contrast, all European efforts to preserve peace and prevent war are more and more clearly taking the line which one must call that of alliances. The ultimate objective is the universal alliance, operating automatically against any offending nation. War against such a one is to be loosed by the League. Geneva is to pronounce a country guilty, and the collective force of organized Europe is to be directed against the aggressor. As I pointed out before, this collective force becomes patently inadequate if the United States, the greatest of world powers, not merely refuses to accept the responsibility to coöperate but discloses its rejection of the whole principle upon which the European system is founded.

While our naval program was conceived primarily as an attack upon Great Britain, our policy disclosed in the Paris-Washington discussions was taken as an attack upon Europe generally. Until then we had only harmed the League negatively by our refusal to join. Now we were seeking to destroy it by open attack. We were asking Europe to throw into the discard all it had done since 1919, we were demanding of various European countries that they scrap policies and abandon contracts on which alone, in the minds of these peoples, security against war and protection in case of aggression depended.

That was why the Briand-Kellogg episode rose at once to the dignity of an international and even Pan-European matter. That was why, beneath the surface, European foreign ministers began discreetly feeling each other out to arrive at agreement upon a common policy of rejection.

The later stages of the Kellogg-Briand debate are of importance solely as they demonstrate the course of French—and European—thought. The suggestion that the agreement to outlaw war be amended to ban wars of aggression, transformed the Kellogg proposal into a pale echo of the Zaleski resolution as it passed the last Assembly of the League.

Wars of aggression are banned by the League agreements. They constitute a cause for common action, justifying a general war against the guilty. In renouncing such a war for herself during the Briand-Kellogg negotiations, France reserved the right—as it is the duty—to make war upon the country guilty of offense. After that the Kellogg proposal lost value, because the United States had not the least intention of associating itself with the League.

All European countries, big and small, were ready to join the United States in a resolution outlawing war as an instrument of policy as between each individually and the United States. But as among themselves all have taken the most solemn obligations to go to war with one another under certain circumstances. This is the foundation of the whole League structure, the single means of preserving peace in Europe at the present hour. Therefore, when Secretary Kellogg sought the renunciation of this, the negotiations were for all practical purposes at an end. Further negotiations remain uncertain.

IV. Pan America

The Pan-American meeting at Havana was, inevitably, the climax of a series of American episodes claiming European attention. Here it is again essential to perceive the European approach, which was unmistakably via Nicaragua. Innumerable European editors and political commentators began their remarks by explaining what was to them the evolution of the Monroe Doctrine. Conceived to prevent European countries from intervening in America, from undoing the

various wars of liberation in South America, this historic doctrine has become transformed with the passage of years.

The Monroe Doctrine now, most European commentators explain, is no longer a principle, backed by American force, to keep European countries from interfering with the liberties of South American countries. It is a means of enabling the United States to keep Europe from interfering with the American exploitation of South America. It is a wall shutting off aid from

South American countries, which are passing under the domination of American dollar imperialism. Behind it, too, Central American countries are becoming the scene of American colonial expeditions.

For Europe, the presence of President Coolidge and his only less distinguished associates at Havana was a deliberate attempt to demonstrate, to all the world, that the United States regarded the Western hemisphere as its own field of imperial expansion. It was for the United States what India and Central Africa have been for Britain, and Northern and Western Africa for France.

Every European comment, too, began with a reference to Nicaragua. In newspapers care was taken invariably to put the reports of the fighting there alongside or following news of the meeting in the Cuban capital. Long articles recapitulated the number and character of our interventions in Latin-American countries. These, which were announced to have reached the total of thirty-three, were interpreted as demonstrating a deliberate imperial purpose.

Openly or covertly the charge was made that all the American pretension at Havana was only the familiar hypocrisy of a nation faring forth on colonial and imperialistic adventures: "We all have little Nicaraguas of our own," sneered the London *Morning Post*. "American imperialism is repeating in Central America the achievements of French in Morocco and British in India," announced the communistic *L'Humanité*.

Equally clear was the charge that the United States was endeavoring to set up a League of Nations in America, rivaling that in Europe, and to dominate that new institution. Since most of the South American nations are members of the Geneva institution, this American adventure seemed an attempt to detach them, just as it was frankly asserted that we had at all times viewed with disapproval their membership in the older league.

From the outset, every European group hoped that the Havana Conference would fail. They hoped and clamored for protests from Chile, Argentina or Uruguay against American occupations in Haiti, Nicaragua, and elsewhere. They viewed with positive grief the announcement from Mexico City that the Mexican Republic would not join battle with the United States at Havana.

Beyond peradventure, Europe hoped, and still hopes, that within South America itself

there will develop a resistance to the United States which may set a limit to American economic and political penetration of Latin America. At present, perhaps for always, Europe is itself incapable of interfering. It cannot make the League of Nations an instrument to execute a new Monroe Doctrine, designed to prevent our interference with South American liberties, as it would like to do.

All must depend upon the Latin Americans themselves. From every quarter in Europe went out the advice and the appeal to resist. With definiteness American policy was set forth as inspired by precisely the same conceptions as all the imperialisms of the nineteenth century. Our policy at Panama and in the Caribbean was that of Britain in the Mediterranean. The Panama Canal was for us what the Suez is for Britain. In Central America our purposes and methods are those of Britain in Egypt.

Along with the political appeal went the cultural. Between South America and the Latin countries of Europe—France, Italy, and Spain—the ties are very close. Paris is measurably the intellectual capital of South America. Thousands of Latin Americans reside there, while more thousands come each year. Italy has a full million of her emigrants in Argentina alone. For all these European Latin countries the advance of American imperialism is not only a fact but a menace, a reduction of their moral and material greatness.

For the British there is, naturally, no sentimental tie with South America; but it is precisely in this field that American competition has become most acute and disastrous. We are outdistancing the British commercially and financially. They are losing ground steadily. Conceivably this lost ground might be recovered if South America, as a whole, or certain of the most progressive and considerable countries, should combine to oppose American penetration, perhaps defending themselves against political penetration by embargoes—in a word, if the United States should become unpopular in Latin America, as Great Britain has already become in China.

Thus for Great Britain, as for the Latin countries of Europe, the Havana Conference took on importance. It was to be a demonstration of whether Latin America could and would resist American hegemony, or whether the United States would win so shining a triumph as to establish its suprem-

acy in all the Americas beyond hope of challenge. No disguise was made of European hopes in any quarter.

Reading this astounding mass of comment in European journals and magazines of every political color, one could not escape the conviction that, whatever might be the immediate consequences of the Havana meeting, there is developing in Europe a clear and definite purpose to join battle with the United States in the Latin-American field. Henceforth one must look forward to seeing every sort of moral and intellectual propaganda employed to rouse South American patriotism and pride against the alleged Yankee danger.

Europe feels itself utterly impotent in the face of rapidly expanding American power. Of course, in the larger sense, no such thing as Europe as a unit exists. The nations of the older continent are still divided by their traditional animosities. They are, too, at least as far as the Continental countries are concerned, eager to obtain further loans in the United States; and to this extent feel themselves compelled to acquiesce in American matters.



WHAT EUROPE THINKS OF AMERICA

From *Il Travaso*, Rome

An Italian jibe at our proposal to outlaw war, showing Uncle Sam backed by his huge resources for war, saying, "Now I can afford to throw away this outworn symbol, the god of war."

I do not think it an exaggeration to say that European opinion is rapidly crystallizing in the conviction that, to all countries collectively, the United States is a danger and a menace. Something of this conclusion was expressed when the war debts were discussed. But at that time there was no general consciousness of the United States as a political force, as a world power in the European sense.

That consciousness has come very rapidly, and quite recently. It dates from the moment at Geneva when we faced British seapower with the demand for parity on our terms. That circumstance destroyed the basis of European political calculation. In European ears it was the alarm clock rousing the world to a new day. What has happened since has taken on enormous importance because it seemed only the logical sequence of events.

A year ago, after a visit to Europe, during the Assembly of the League in September, 1926, I wrote in this magazine of the striking manifestations of the hatred of the United States at that moment disclosed in many European countries. To a degree, at least, that feeling has passed with the acute financial difficulties which in part explained it. But to-day one must report that the sentiment of hatred has been replaced by another, which combines alarm with fear. Europe has suddenly decided that America has come of age politically. It sees in the disclosure of this maturity of ours—or at least it imagines that it does—portents which are for it dangerous to an incalculable degree.

Within three months we have challenged the naval supremacy of Britain, undertaken to demolish the whole system of peace and security by which Continental Europe lives, and disclosed a purpose to deal with all the Americas as our particular and private property. So Europe interprets recent events. Therefore Europe is looking outward across the Atlantic, giving to the American phenomenon an attention which not only surpasses anything in the past, but has even obscured the various European questions which hitherto have absorbed European attention.

The New Science of City Building

BY JOHN C. BEUKEMA

CAN a city build itself scientifically, in accordance with a well-ordered plan, the way a business is built?

Business men are asking this question to-day. Retailers ask it every time they see their customers coming home from the more prosperous neighboring metropolis laden with bundles. Bankers ask it as they nurse along the sick industrial babies of the community. Manufacturers ask it when they see key men drift away to more progressive cities offering richer and fuller living advantages. Real-estate men ask it when they pass the vacant factory buildings with which practically every industrial center is too plentifully provided.

The United States is growing. Most of this growth is urban. For the past thirty years, and particularly in the last fifteen, the drift has been from farm to city. Practically everything the average American buys to-day is factory-processed in one way or another. But all cities have not shared equally in this growth. Some, like Detroit and Los Angeles, have doubled, trebled, and quadrupled their population almost overnight. Others lag along with a purely nominal increase each year.

What the American business man, who is spending good money to support his local Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, and a host of other civic activities, wants to know is: How much of this is due to chance? How much to plan and organization? How much can the same far-sighted vision, experience, methodical development of program, and meticulous attention to detail that mark the growth of any large business enterprise, accomplish in this field?

The question cannot be answered with a generalization. Few big questions can. There is no doubt that most cities have grown by happenstance. Natural resources have played a big part in the growth of some. Favorable location on an important transportation lane has been the making

of others. Many cities owe their present position in the industrial and commercial world to the genius or ability of a comparatively limited group of men whom they either produced or were able to attract. This is probably the most important single reason for the growth or development of any city. But there is sufficient evidence—and it is piling up every day—that cities properly organized, and with the right type of trained leadership, can increase their populations and their wealth.

It must be admitted that city-building—which means primarily the development of industry within a city, since our cities are largely built around factory payrolls—is not yet an exact science, whatever its future may be. The differentials between cities which make one a good location for an industry, and another a poor location, are largely undetermined. Nor are all established manufacturing centers equally good for every type of enterprise. These facts, so dimly grasped by both manufacturers and men in the chamber-of-commerce profession hitherto, are coming to the fore with startling vividness as city after city completes its industrial survey.

Some Cities Fit Particular Industries

A city ideal for paper-making may be the worst location in the world for a gray-iron foundry. The average wage scale in the two industries may be identical. Both may employ largely common and semi-skilled labor. But men trained in a paper mill are likely to prove wholly unadaptable to mass production methods. What racial trait do the Hollanders and Scandinavians possess that gives them their remarkable skill as cabinetmakers and woodworkers? Why do so many drop-forge men claim that only a Pole can straighten a cam-shaft after heat-treating? A thousand-and-one considerations like this arise in the relocation of an industry. Many a manufacturer who

thought he was laboring under excessive disadvantages in his earlier location found on making a change that he had only jumped from the frying-pan into the fire.

An eastern city gave a western manufacturer a bonus of \$32,000 to relocate his plant, the money to be spent on a factory building. After shopping around a bit the manufacturer returned to his former sources of supply and is now buying castings a thousand miles from home and shipping the finished product back a similar distance. At the close of the first year's business in the new location he met an acquaintance from the old home town. The latter asked him, "How's business?"

"Don't ask me," he groaned. "I simply can't get a crew to produce. It has already cost me more than the bonus they paid me to make the change."

A furniture manufacturer moved from a large city to a rural community of less than 4,000 population. There was no available supply of skilled labor, hence he brought with him his department heads and their families, paying all moving expenses. Inside of a year two-thirds of his foremen had left. Their families sickened for the bright lights, the movies, and the jar and crash of elevated trains.

"I have had three superintendents in three months," he told me. "Some of the boys that left me had been with me over twenty years. Gosh, how I miss them!"

A shirt factory moved into a city of 10,000 population, largely woodworking. Out of 1,600 operatives in the factories of that city, less than 100 were women, including clerical help. A survey had shown an ample sufficiency of female labor. But it failed to develop the fact that the available woman labor in that city was class conscious—it would work part time in a canning factory to make a bit of extra spending money for the vacation season, but it would not accept steady employment in a shirt factory. To become a "factory girl" was a step down the social ladder. The company spent thousands of dollars on rest rooms, recreational features, dances, and other entertainment; but it could not break down the barrier, and finally had to leave.

These instances illustrate only a few of the hazards involved in relocating a manufacturing enterprise without adequate study and fact-finding before the move is made.

Of course, there are many examples of factories that have migrated to advantage,

and have made phenomenal successes in their new location. But the many mistakes and the many failures are trenchant illustrations of the fact that the old haphazard method of locating industry must be abandoned for a more scientific method.

Every community has men who raise the question: "Why build the city bigger?" But, generally speaking, they are a hopeless minority.

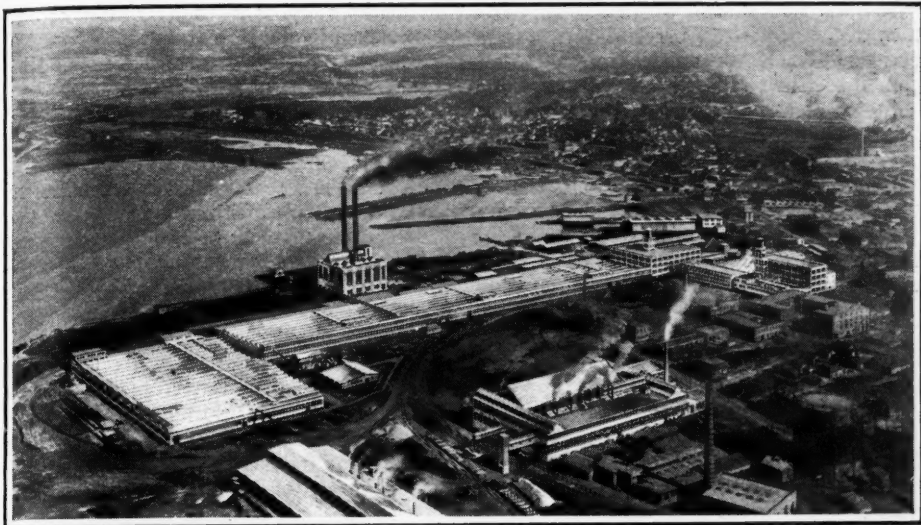
An Industrial Revolution

The new interest of the American business man in this problem of building our cities industrially has its origin in the industrial revolution that is taking place. During the war, goods could not be produced fast enough. Anyone who was willing to work could get a job. Wages were high, and efficiency relatively low. When the slump came, in 1921, manufacturers began setting their houses in order. Mass production—replacement of men with machines—was developed. The automotive industry, which has pioneered so much in the art of fabrication during the past two decades, led the way. A large motor plant testifies that its labor cost per unit produced in 1926 was just 60 per cent. of what it was in 1923.

The immediate result was a considerable loss of employment. Our manufacturing industries employed approximately 700,000 fewer operatives in 1925 than in 1919. Expressed in percentages, the decrease in aggregate employment in 1925 was 4.4 per cent. below 1923, and 6.6 per cent. below 1919. Yet the total gross value of manufactured product produced in the United States reached an all-time peak in 1925 of \$62,705,714,000, surpassing the previous peak year of 1919 by 1.6 per cent. Our actual growth has been much greater, for the reason that we have greatly reduced prices these days for both raw materials and manufactured product.

The Chamber of Commerce

With machinery replacing men, the merchant, the real-estate dealer, the professional man, and many other people who feel they can make money only as their respective cities increase their populations, are tremendously concerned about the unemployment problem. The obvious remedy, it appears to them, is more factories. Naturally, they turn toward their local chamber of commerce. With the usual impetuosity



THE MUSKEGON PLANT OF THE CONTINENTAL MOTORS CORPORATION

This company moved to Muskegon in 1906, occupying a building 60 x 130 feet, two stories, erected for it by the Chamber of Commerce. This plant now contains 880,000 square feet of floor space and employs 3,800 men, exclusive of a Continental foundry subsidiary, Lake Foundry Company, which employs 1,000 men. Continental produces 350,000 motors each year. The gross cost to Muskegon was \$12,500.00. The annual taxes paid to the city are \$168,847.00. The annual payrolls over \$4,000,000.00.

of American business men, they demand immediate action, forthwith results.

We have some 2100 chambers of commerce and boards of trade in the United States. Not 10 per cent. of them are geared to put on an industrial development program. Tradition has been against it. The American chamber of commerce is a comparative infant. While historically it may be traced back a century or more to the old New York State Chamber of Commerce, practically it is a twentieth-century product. More chambers of commerce have been organized in the past ten years than in the whole history of this continent prior thereto. The great majority of these as well as those created before the war, were brought up on the war tradition that the chamber's prime function was to develop the community civically, rather than industrially. Emphasis was placed on building a "better" city, rather than a "bigger" city.

During the war, this program was justified. Everything had to be subordinated to war service. Between Liberty Loan and Red Cross campaigns, fuel and food administration, and services to manufacturers yelling for priorities, the average chamber of commerce had a busy time of it. It was not until the post-war depression hit the

country, and idle smokestacks began to dot the country, that a change of view began to take place.

It caught our chambers of commerce unprepared. The bulk of the men who headed these institutions were amateurs at industrial development. Many of them did not know the difference between a turret lathe and a radial drill. They could not tell where a production line began or ended. Analyzing an industry to determine its possibilities was, therefore, wholly beyond their powers. They had no training for the job.

In addition to this handicap, they lacked the detailed information about their own community that executives require when considering a relocation of their business. Most of them had put out booklets and other printed matter, telling in a general way the history of the city, its public improvements, tax rate, and similar information. But analysis of available raw materials, market analysis, data on freight rates, transportation services, labor costs and policies, and other items of this character had to be compiled.

One of the principal characteristics of the successful chamber-of-commerce secretary or manager is his adaptability. Lacking

that quality he is soon without a job. The men of the profession, perceiving that "new occasions teach new duties," promptly began to set their respective houses in order.

Study of the problem quickly indicated three things were necessary:

(1) A trained industrial commissioner or engineer to handle all matters appertaining to industrial development.

(2) An industrial survey to ascertain the advantages of the city for specific types of industrial enterprises.

(3) An industrial foundation, or some similar device, to assist the worthy enterprise in need of additional finances.

Expert Knowledge Saves Trouble

Imagine an interview between the old-fashioned Industrial Committee and a practical manufacturer proposing to relocate his plant. The manufacturer asks several score technical questions, dealing with the labor supply, wage-rates, bonuses, and premiums; switching facilities and trap-car service; freight rates, potential local market; taxes and municipal attitude toward industry, and the like. He receives hazy and most general replies. All are eager to assure him that Homeburg is a wonderful town in which to live. In such an atmosphere a meeting of minds is well-nigh impossible. The two groups do not speak the same language.

Assume that such a prospect has assured the committee that he believes conditions in their city will be more favorable for his business than his present location. There is a little string to his acceptance. His business is growing and he needs more capital, a hundred thousand dollars. He suggests a preferred stock issue with possibly a bonus of common for the insiders. He is doing \$120,000 a year gross now, next year he will do a quarter of a million. He shows a sheaf of unfilled orders. (Why do these lame-duck manufacturer-promoters always carry brief cases bulging with unfilled orders?) He submits his balance sheet.

The committee hems and haws. It is a little dubious, but it cannot put its finger on the weak spot in the structure. The prospect glibly assures them that it has cost a little money to get into production and develop a market, but that hurdle has been overcome. Witness the orders. As he ponders the matter, each committeeman mentally visualizes the slaps on the back he will get when it is announced that Homeburg has acquired another new industry.

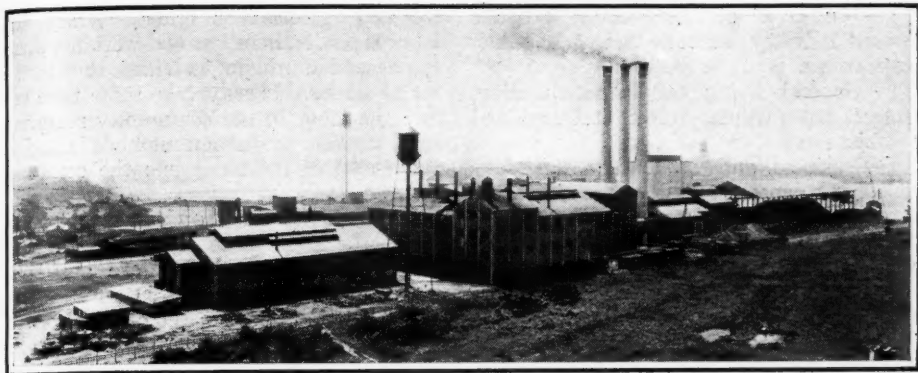
He realizes he has neither the time nor the experience to dig into the proposition. So he decides to take a gambler's chance. Nine times out of ten he loses.

Something of this character is happening somewhere in America nearly every day. Accurate statistics are not available, but there is no question that a large proportion of the vacant factory floor space in this country is primarily due to the misguided enthusiasm of civic boosters for more and bigger payrolls without consideration of the economic factors involved in the relocation of an industry.

Experiences such as these are leading to the abandonment of the old method of conducting negotiations through the medium of industrial committees, and the substitution thereof of industrial departments within the chamber of commerce administrative staff. These departments are headed up by a trained industrial commissioner, devoting his full time to the job and thoroughly familiar with production methods, market analyses, cost-accounting systems, and, in short, with the organization of a successful manufacturing business. These men are specialists. In fact, theirs is practically a new profession, just coming into being.

The Industrial Commissioner

Our industrial commissioners to-day are pioneers. They are blazing new trails. There are no established standards and practices such as govern the older professions. They have to be made. Many a man will burn his fingers before what constitutes right methods and what constitutes wrong methods will have been accurately defined. Of course, there are certain fundamental requirements that the commissioner must possess: He must be a proven executive. He must be thoroughly grounded in the principles of finance, particularly as applied to industry. He must know production. He must know distribution. He must know costs, cost accounting, ratios of labor cost to material cost to sales cost to overhead. He must be able to analyze the city he serves, its advantages, its points of weakness and its points of strength. He must be honest with both himself and his associates in making this analysis, for it is futile to bring in new industries that will later suffer distress because some inherent condition is wrong. Courage and tact in correcting conditions unfavorable to industry at home are probably the outstand-



ONE OF THE FLOURISHING PLANTS ESTABLISHED WITH THE AID OF THE NORFOLK-PORTSMOUTH INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

The Virginia Portland Cement Corporation's million-barrel plant at South Norfolk, with a capital investment of \$3,000,000, shows what a progressive community can do.

ing characteristics required of a successful industrial commissioner.

Lack of precedent is not the only problem of the industrial commissioner. Even more important is keeping in touch with trends in industry. Conditions in the United States are changing so rapidly that the prosperous industry of a year ago may be on the verge of bankruptcy to-morrow.

Most of our communities are rebuilt industrially every twenty-five years. In other words, during this period most of the industrial establishments within the average community either go out of business and are succeeded by new plants, or they undergo a radical modification which practically makes them a new industry.

To be successful an industrial commissioner must be alert and anticipate these changes. He needs a national viewpoint. The local viewpoint will not suffice. The man in this profession who is content to limit his horizon to the borders of his city's trade area is lost.

The Industrial Survey

Like every other artisan or practitioner, the industrial commissioner needs tools with which to work. His tools are the Industrial Survey. An industrial survey is, to the head of the new-industries department of a chamber of commerce, what a hammer, saw, plane, and chisel are to a carpenter, a Bible to a clergyman, or a little black bag to the family physician. But it is no more than that. This is an important point to remember. It must be emphasized because the making of industrial surveys is quite a

fad these days. Over 500 American cities have made such surveys in the past three or four years. There is scarcely a manufacturer of note throughout the country who is not receiving across his desk almost daily sets of neatly bound mimeographed sheets giving the facts—all the facts—about Homeburg, and Smithstown, and Oscaloola. Some of them have been compiled locally, and some by outside experts, industrial engineers; some of them contain honest, worth-while information, and others savor a good deal of the old-fashioned blah school; some of them are pithy and concise, and others ramble *ad infinitum, ad nauseam*.

There is no city so mean as not to have a survey of some sort or another. The cruel part of it is that so many chambers of commerce fail to recognize that a survey is only a beginning, that it is useful only as it can be employed by a skilled man in attaining the desired results.

Three things are required to enable a community to sell itself as a location for industry. They are:

It must know what it has to sell.

It must know whom to sell.

It must know how to sell.

The survey accomplishes the first. A trained man must supply the other two.

Surveys generally cover the following principal subjects:

1—Location, size, area of city, proximity to nearest metropolitan centers, history, and rate of growth.

2—Character of population, labor supply, labor turnover, character of present industry.

3—Municipal services, taxes, attitude toward industry, schools, churches, public institutions.

4—General living conditions, housing, recreational facilities, civic and fraternal organizations.

5—Business and economic data—pay-rolls, bank deposits and debits to individual accounts, postal receipts, etc.

6—Utilities, power, gas, water rates, availability of power.

7—The city and neighboring territory as a source of raw materials.

8—The city and neighboring territory as a potential market and distributing center.

9—Transportation facilities and freight rates.

Obviously an industrial survey, to be of value, must be detailed. It should, in particular, reveal what the community is buying from the outside that it could produce more cheaply at home. A survey of this character logically develops the line of least resistance for the industrial development of a community. It frequently reveals unsuspected markets and sources of raw materials. To be self-contained industrially is one of the logical objectives of every community, and a survey points the way to such an achievement.

One of the big troubles with many of these surveys is that, after being completed, they have been carefully filed and left to gather dust. Surveys are only useful as they are used. In addition, it is important to remember that surveys, to be of value, must be kept up to date. Conditions change rapidly, and a survey should be checked every six months at a minimum.

Seeking Desirable Industries

The survey completed, the city should seek its market—i.e., desirable industries that would logically fit in the community. A well-prepared survey should reveal the character and type of industries that best fit into the community. At the same time, results may not always come along the lines indicated by the survey. St. Louis, Mo., has had at least two surveys in the past ten years listing lines of industry that should logically be developed in St. Louis; yet very little of the industrial development of that metropolis has been along the lines indicated by the engineers.

It must be remembered that no city is a 100 per cent. location for any industry. Advantages and disadvantages have to be

weighed against each other. Where the labor is predominantly wood-working, there is a hazard in bringing in a large shop in the metal trades. It may take some time before the labor in the community readjusts itself to mass production methods in such a shop, and in the meantime the company has paid a heavy price.

We have heard so much in recent years about the importance of choosing a location where raw materials are available, where power rates are low, transportation costs are at a minimum, and other favorable physical conditions exist, that there is a tendency to overestimate the importance of these items. Only a small percentage of the industries of this country are located logically from the economist's point of view. The steel mills at Gary are one example—a logical point for coal and iron to meet, and a big consuming center nearby. It is quite true that in the chemical and paper industries, for example, where the investment in plant and machinery per man employed is relatively high, and power and transportation costs equal or surpass labor costs, location is the important factor. But most industries owe their success or non-success not to advantages of location but to the managerial skill of their executives and the character of their labor. In other words, the human element is most important. Since we cannot reduce men to statistics, judgment of men is the most important factor in reaching a decision on an industrial relocation, although surveys and similar data are valuable tools.

Establishing Contacts through Advertising

Assuming that a community has made a thorough study of its advantages and has hired a trained industrial commissioner, the next question that arises is how contact shall be established with desirable prospects. The obvious first thought is advertising. When advertising is mentioned objectors will appear. There are a great many men of the old chamber-of-commerce school who are not sold on the value of magazine and newspaper space. They will point to the experience of this or that city which has advertised for industries and failed to reap the anticipated results. But investigation of these cases will almost uniformly develop the fact that the men who placed the copy expected advertising to do more than advertising can do. The manufacturer who discharges his sales force and

expects advertising to get him all his business is headed for the poorhouse. In the same sense advertising for new industries without having a properly organized staff for field work is a waste of money and effort. It is significant that more money is being spent on advertising for new industries this year than ever before. The cities which are spending it are doing so intelligently and without too great expectation of immediate results. Atlanta, Ga., which originally raised \$250,000 for advertising, and has since raised \$1,000,000 for a similar campaign, expresses its experience as follows:

"The effectiveness of the advertising was attested from the start. Most encouraging of all facts to the Commission was that it was not bringing in a flood of worthless inquiries. Those that came in, came from 'live prospects'—the advertising was reaching the men it had been designed to reach. It was showing signs of its true intent—to draw industry, not just inquiries, to the city.

"During the year, 169 new industries had come to Atlanta—bringing with them payrolls of \$7,723,750, employment to 4,909 people!

"It marked the high tide in Atlanta's development; the achievement more than doubled any previous year in Atlanta's unadvertised annals.

"The figures given are full enough to emphasize the profit of the year of well-planned advertising—for here, on the face of it, without stopping to consider the growing benefits, was a return of more than 3000 per cent. on the initial investment in advertising."

One chamber of commerce reports that its best prospects are received from the following sources:

1—Tips from local manufacturers, transportation and public utility agencies serving the community, and other interested individuals.

2—Responses to direct personal letters written the industry.

3—Magazine and newspaper advertising.



SEARS-ROEBUCK COMES TO ATLANTA

Advertising has proved effective in bringing industries to Atlanta, Ga., that have paid a return of 3,000 per cent. on the initial investment.

Portland, Oregon, has developed an excellent plan typical of several coast cities. The manager of its industrial bureau makes a nation-wide circuit lasting two months twice a year. In other words, he is on the road two months, visiting key industrial centers and home four months out of each six. On reaching a city he runs from a quarter page to a full page advertising his presence in the community and inviting manufacturers to visit him. Obviously this can be done only in the larger centers. Portland has been very successful in using this plan.

Financial Assistance

Probably the biggest single problem in the building of cities industrially is how far a city shall go toward extending financial assistance to a new enterprise coming within its borders. Majority opinion today is unquestionably against it. The bonus method has been subjected to so many indictments that its malodorous reputation has extended to all public, quasi-public, and private industrial financing corporations or funds.

Bonusing was once quite the fashion. Nearly every city did it, in some form or another. But it suffered the fate of too great popularity and too little judgment. Unsound and unscientific, it accomplished a certain measure of good for some cities even though it may have done a great deal of harm in others. As we look back it becomes apparent that bonusing was a

great deal better than the reckless orgy of stock-selling which so many chambers of commerce have participated in during the past decade, to their almost universal sorrow. The bonused industry, generally speaking, was at least partially established in its field; it was a going concern, not a promotion like so many of the stock-selling ventures; and the money generally went into factory buildings in the community, which found a later use after the original industry failed.

Take my home city of Muskegon, Michigan. In 1888 it was a thriving lumber city of about 24,000 population. It cut that year in its forty-seven sawmills over 800,000,000 board feet, a world's record cut of lumber. In a printed volume put out about the city at that time its leading lumber barons proudly stated that the day would never come when the pine forests tributary to the Muskegon River would be cut away. Yet within twenty years every one of the mills, the sole dependence of the people of that city for continued employment and prosperity, was gone.

Muskegon would have been literally wiped from the earth but for the courage of its citizens. They bonded the city, first for \$100,000 and later for a second \$100,000, to pay bonuses to factories that would locate there. It was illegal, a subterfuge had to be employed. The bonds were sold as park bonds and wharf bonds, and the money diverted to the bonus fund.

To-day Muskegon, with its industrial suburbs of Muskegon Heights and North Muskegon, is a community of 60,000 people, with over 200 industries producing nearly \$80,000,000 of fabricated product per annum. Six of its industries are world leaders. Every industry now in Muskegon, with but four exceptions, was brought in under the operation of the original bonus fund and its successor fund, the present Muskegon Industrial Foundation, or is an outgrowth of some industry brought in through those funds.

There is one point in Muskegon's history, however, that must not be overlooked. In 1913 the trustees of the fund, John G. Emery, Jr., and Thomas H. Hume, perceived the advisability of abandoning the bonus method and using money in their possession for the purpose of financing construction loans on factory buildings for new industries coming into the community. In other words, the bonus fund became a re-

volving fund. Thus they created the original "Industrial Foundation" fund. The bonus had served its day—careless employment of it by other men in competitive cities had destroyed its usefulness. The time had come to tighten up and pick only those prospects which had a sound economic reason for choosing Muskegon as against other locations.

There are logical reasons why a certain measure of financial assistance to an industry desiring to relocate itself is justifiable. The process of transplantation is as difficult for an industry as it is for a tree or a plant; a certain amount of vitality is lost which must be restored before growth is resumed. In other words, the factory that moves pays a price in increased operating costs during the transition period, loss of business, loss of trained personnel, moving expenses, etc. The artificial stimulus which a gardener gives a plant in the way of fertilizer, frequent waterings, and shade from the mid-day sun, finds its correspondence in industry in properly safeguarded loans, made to cover the expense of a company while making a change of location, reorganizing its personnel and getting back into production, or in the form of building loans; and also in associating the newcomers with strong and experienced men in the community whose counsel may be of value during the critical period.

The old method of helping industry was through the sale of stock. There is nothing worse for the average small company than a quantity of new money secured from a large number of small stockholders whose principal reason for making an investment is a civic interest. Long and painful experience has demonstrated that such money is usually squandered in careless experimentation, unwise sales promotion, salary increases, etc. Generally there is no one to apply a check since no single individual among the new stockholders has a sufficient investment to enlist his active interest in the business.

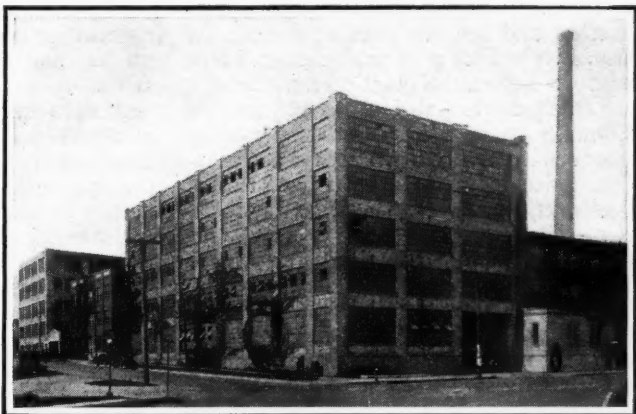
The Industrial Foundation

To avoid the hazards of stock-selling, two types of community financing agencies rendering assistance to industries have come into being. The difference between these two types is in the manner of organization, rather than in the service they render. One is the so-called Guarantee Plan, under which business men in the community

pledge their credit up to a fixed limited liability as a basis for bank loans to new industries. The other is the Foundation Plan. An Industrial Foundation is a corporation with a fixed capital stock divided into shares, which are sold at par to business men in the community. The capital thus secured is loaned out in the form of either building loans or working capital loans to industries locating in the community. Easton, Pa., and Binghamton, N. Y., are among the foremost cities operating under the Guarantee Plan. Louisville, Scranton, Baltimore, and Muskegon have successfully employed the Foundation Plan.

The Muskegon Industrial Foundation is capitalized at \$450,000, with more than \$400,000 subscribed by some 250 business men. These funds are employed in making loans to new industries. Assistance is given to both local industries and to industries coming in from the outside. A prerequisite is that industries must be reasonably established—i.e., have demonstrated earning power. The preference is building loans, although occasionally the Foundation has made working capital loans. Building loans are made on the theory that the working capital of a new industry should be conserved and not converted into frozen assets by investment in land and buildings. Loans generally average up to about 75 per cent. of the value of land and buildings. The Foundation retains title to the property; the purchaser getting a land contract which he amortizes under the building-and-loan plan. Generally these loans are liquidated over a period of seven to eight years. The interest rate is 6 per cent. There are no discounts, premiums, legal fees, or charges of any description. The Foundation has at times assumed the entire cost of land and buildings and taken a chattel mortgage for the extra 25 per cent. on machinery and equipment.

Working capital loans, generally speaking, are largely character loans and proportionately risky. Unless a community has a skilled factory executive, who can carefully



AN ORIGINAL BONUS OF \$3,500 TO THIS INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION NOW BRINGS IN \$35,000 A YEAR IN TAXES

The Shaw-Walker Company, makers of office equipment, located in Muskegon in 1899. Their payroll has increased from 20 men to 800.

supervise operations and keep a close check on sales production, such loans are inadvisable.

The Muskegon Foundation is under the direction of a board of seven trustees, three of them bank presidents and two manufacturers. The Foundation has an agreement with the Chamber of Commerce, which organized it, under which the Chamber establishes contacts and develops industrial prospects up to the point of making the sale, whereupon the trustees are called in if financial assistance locally is required. Thus there are two separate groups of men passing on the prospect.

There is one caution that should be given. A new industry is just like any other baby, it will have colic and teething pains and the whole long run of children's diseases. It will need watchful care and assistance over the rough places. Muskegon recently had to reorganize one of its infants, put in more money, and put in stronger management. The same thing was done in the past with several of the industries that are such splendid successes to-day. Much depends on the ability to carry on once you have made a commitment.

Pick Men as Well as Products

A man with thirty years' experience in the new industries problem supplies these thoughts:

"Ninety per cent. of the success of any industry is the man back of it. Pick men rather than products, men rather than good-looking balance sheets. If possible, pick

young men who have served their apprenticeship and are ready to strike out for themselves. Pick reasonably seasoned men with a background of practical experience.

"Don't be too anxious to get the big fellows. An established industry moving from one location to another pays a tremendous price in loss of production, loss of personnel, and in rebuilding its organization. It cost one factory employing thirty-five men \$18,000 to remove to Muskegon, in direct and indirect cost. Generally the direct cost is only a small item of the total expense. Unless a company is properly financed to make a move it had better stay where it is.

"Trade reports and bank reports are often out of date and therefore misleading and unreliable. They are merely corroboratory evidence, never conclusive as to the financial condition of the company. Appraisals have to be carefully scrutinized and checked by a local investigator even when made by national appraisal companies. In making an audit, both the balance sheet and the operating statement are important. Procure, whenever possible, an analyzed month by month operating statement for a two year period. They will disclose the direction in which the company is going, seasonable peaks, etc. Sad experience has taught me that you cannot know too much, that the best of them will conceal some vital fact, and that Solomon never said a wiser thing than his trenchant: 'All men are liars.'"

The Railroads Coöperate

In an earlier portion of this article we have stated that the primary beneficiaries of any successful program for industrial development put on by a city are the public utilities, banks, newspapers, and other businesses having limited competition. This includes the transportation agencies serving in the community.

Some of our railroads, notably the Baltimore and Ohio, and some of our power companies, notably the Central Illinois Public Service Company, have rendered wonderful service through the medium of making industrial surveys and helping to organize local communities so that they might properly employ such surveys. They are pioneers in this respect. The great majority of our railroads and public utilities have not yet awakened to their opportunities.

The day has arrived for real and practical coöperation between our railroads and other utilities and the communities they serve. What we need is the establishment of aggressive industrial development departments adequately financed to do a positive constructive job in the way of analyzing the industrial possibilities of each community in the territory served and developing prospects. The railroad that first perceives its opportunity along this line is going to profit, and the idle, non-productive land and factory buildings along its terminals will soon disappear.

Standards Must Be Established

Once our cities are properly organized to solicit new industry we must meet the problem of establishing standards and trade practices. One city will give no assistance to an industry locating within its environs beyond supplying the customary information; another will give an extravagant bonus. I know of cities that have given as high as \$1,000 per man in the form of a bonus—with no strings attached. Recently a little city of 4,000 gave a straight-out bonus of \$165,000 on the promise of an employment of 350 men and women.

Secretary A will sell his city on its merits. Secretary B, hearing about the negotiation, hustles around and offers as a special inducement a vacant plant rent free for two or three years. Unfortunately the building happens to be old and in need of repairs and not exactly suited to the prospective tenant's requirements. The latter mentions this to Secretary C who promptly offers to put up a building and donate the land and maybe the taxes. Along comes Secretary D and says, "We will put up a building and give it to you after so many years, provided you have an aggregate payroll of so many hundreds of thousands of dollars during that time." Last of all comes Secretary E, fresh, and eager to convince the folks of Homeburg that he is a whiz. He offers an out-and-out cash bonus with practically no strings attached.

Thus the evolution of the bonus hog. He is a product of our verdancy, our lack of business methods, our lack of acquaintance with the problems and hazards of industry, and the over-eagerness of so many communities to secure a factory. It is only through the establishment of proper standards and trade practices that this evil can be remedied.

City Managers Make Good

BY CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

THE American city-manager movement is making substantial and satisfactory progress. Inaugurated in three cities in 1912, there has been a steady development of the idea until at the present time nearly 400 urban communities are operating under some form of city-manager plan of government. For a number of years only smaller communities tried the experiment, but now some of the largest cities have city managers and are securing results that are on the whole highly satisfactory.

Cleveland, America's sixth city in size, likes the plan after three years' trial. If a community with 900,000 people can get good results, there is no reason why other large places should not be able to get them. Not long ago, Mr. Louis P. Head, of the *Dallas News*, was sent on a tour of investigation of city-manager communities. He reported that Cleveland had not made a mistake when it adopted the plan, "even if it did not become overnight a Civic Utopia."

"Cleveland is moving forward," said Mr. Head. "Its leaders, in and out of the City Hall, seem to know what they want and to know rather definitely how they are going to get it. And they like art and music. The new art museum is a gem of beauty. While the writer was in Cleveland the Metropolitan Grand Opera Company opened an engagement of eight performances in the municipal auditorium. The seat sale for the first night was said to have amounted to more than the cost of the engagement as a whole."

W. R. Hopkins, Cleveland's City Manager, is appropriately described as a man of vision. Most of the complaints heard about his administration are that "he views things on too large a scale." In other words, some of his improvement projects have been too big even for Cleveland to handle. Yet he is under no illusions as to the difficulties he faces. He has a thorough grasp of detail, and the ability to carry out any program he

launches. Mr. Hopkins believes that city government should be based on the idea of public service, and that it requires thinking ahead and planning on a large scale to provide against the future needs of a growing citizenship and the increasing complexities of urban life.

Hence his tremendous interest in carrying out the Cleveland Mall project, now under way, which contemplates a great civic center on the beautiful Lake front. Here public buildings, some already existent, others to be built, will take the place of unsightly factories. Mr. Hopkins has also developed a plan for the creation of a great harbor on Lake Erie, a lake shore boulevard, room for future industrial development, and millions to be spent for new railroad facilities and traffic arteries.

"When one listens to Hopkins' exposition of his ambitions for Cleveland," declares Mr. Head, "it is easy to see that he thinks largely, and there is an instant sympathy for his plans. He has had some success in carrying out these and other projects, while giving the city what was conceded to be an improved sort of public service by contrast with what had gone before."

Mr. Hopkins is a lawyer, a resident of Cleveland since his college days at Western Reserve University, and member of the City Council for many years before he became manager in 1924.

Nevertheless, there are those who are dissatisfied; and in April there will be another referendum on the retention of the plan. On previous referenda the voters have sustained it.

Two years ago Cleveland's sister city, Cincinnati, adopted the city-manager plan as a splendid reaction against one of the worst local civic conditions in the United States. Col. Clarence O. Sherrill, an army engineer from Washington, was put in charge, and is helping to justify the expectations that were entertained for the plan. Cincinnati people say that "Sherrill knows

his stuff." He is not an autocrat nor a martinet, but is conservative, quiet spoken, decisive. His theory is: "The city owes nobody a job, but service to everybody." A quite different viewpoint from that of the old régime, which held power because of its possession of spoils and its control of contracts. Sherrill explains the downfall of the old system by the simple statement: "They could not get things done."

One of Colonel Sherrill's reforms has been the consolidation of twenty-six administrative departments into fifteen, with a consequent saving in personnel, money, and effort.

He, Sherrill, believes in decentralization of responsibility, at first glance a paradoxical attitude for a city manager. What he means is that each department shall stand or fall on its own performance, with the head of each responsible for the success or failure of his administration and with a large degree of initiative given him by the manager. Through Sherrill's offices and methods, he is in contact with every division of the city government, yet his subordinates are left free to handle their own problems.

Dayton, Ohio, has been making city-manager history for thirteen years. Its city-manager charter was one of the first in the country, and there is seemingly no thought of change. "Dayton people would resent any suggestion for a change in the type of our government," declares Charles H. Paul, the engineer in part responsible for the \$30,000,000 Dayton Flood Control project, and a member of the City Commission. The City Commission itself is a non-partisan group, which makes it a rule never to interfere with the manager in the administration of the city's business. Says Mr. Paul:

"We do not even suggest whom he shall appoint as the head of any department. We formulate the policies of government and look to him for their execution. About 99 per cent. of all city legislation originates in the manager's office and is adopted by the commission after his recommendation if study shows it to be well-advised."

Asked if a city should go outside its own boundaries for a manager, Mr. Paul said: "We would go to Cuba, the Philippines, or Europe for a man if he was the biggest and best man for the job, though it happens that the present manager (Mr. F. O. Eichelberger) was city engineer under the

first manager, thirteen years ago, and has been with the city continuously."

Other large cities which have adopted this up-to-date plan for the effective government of cities are Kansas City, Rochester, Grand Rapids, Norfolk and Indianapolis.

Texas has twenty-five cities operating under the city-manager plan. These range in size from Lufkin (3,958 persons) to Fort Worth (106,482). Lower costs and more money available for civic improvements and more efficient administration are credited to the plan. Efforts to repeal the system in several cities have met with defeat.

The plan has been received with approval nearly everywhere that it has received a fair trial. At the end of 1925 there were 363 cities in thirty-one States under this plan, and the number has now increased to 380.

Two essential principles are involved in the city-manager plan: the short ballot, and the unification of powers. The short ballot idea, one of the most notable introduced into American political discussion during the present generation, embodies the principle that only a very few offices should be filled by election. Unification, under the city-manager plan, means reposing all powers in the council.

In answer to the question "Is the plan a success?" the National Municipal League points out that the plan spreads fastest in regions which know most about it. For example, it was adopted in Dayton in 1913, and now sixteen cities in Ohio have it. It got an early start in three small cities in Michigan, and now thirty-five Michigan cities have adopted it. There are nineteen such cities in California, and in Virginia one-fifth of the population of the State live under city-manager plans.

Numerous investigations, not always friendly at the start, have been made, and the reports have been invariably favorable.

Four out of five new city charters follow the city-manager plan. A number of cities voted to adopt the plan at the November election and Rochester elected its first group of Councilmen under its new city manager charter.

The "Model Charter" drafted by the National Municipal League is a city-manager charter. Political scientists without exception consider it the best form of city government, and college political science courses teach it as accepted doctrine.

Leading Articles

World Affairs ~ Science ~ The Arts ~ Men and Women

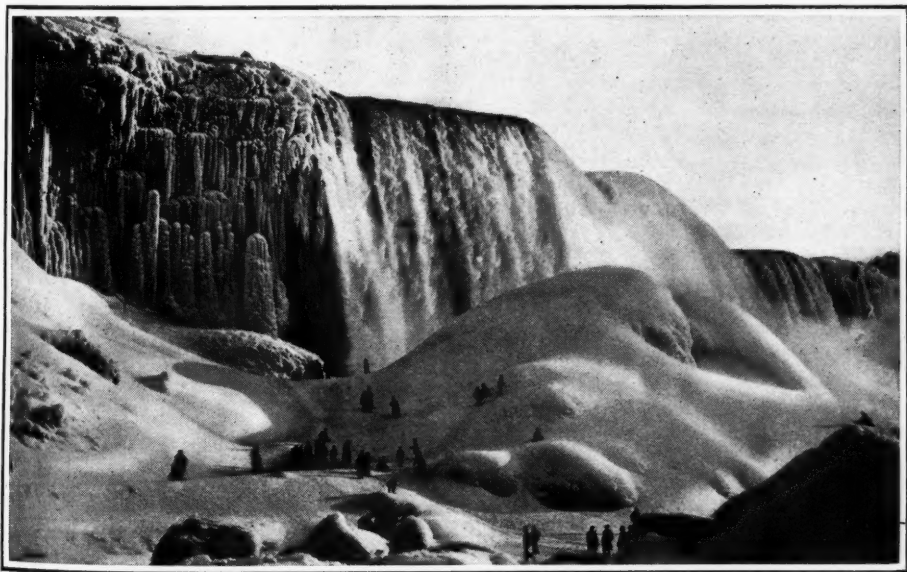
Who Shall Control Our Superpower?

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE in his Message to Congress urges that we dispose of Muscle Shoals. The controversy over Boulder Dam on the Colorado River is at its height. Senator Walsh, though failing to start a Senate investigation, has brought the power problem before the public. Mr. Samuel Insull of Chicago is engaged in battle with the State of Maine over control of her great natural resources of water. Governor Smith of New York, candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, is even now fighting for State control of water power. Herbert Hoover, candidate for the Republican nomination for President, is opposed to government activity in the field of power, and pledged to the Coolidge policy. If it should happen that Hoover and Smith were nominated, this great question might become

one of the important issues of the campaign. Whatever way you look at it, the United States is bound to hear much about giant power—and its ownership—before November 4, 1928. So writes Norman Hapgood, arguing for government monopoly in a debate with Dr. Frank Bohn in the *March Forum*.

The United States Government should control electric power, Mr. Hapgood believes, because private ownership will mean the most powerful monopoly in the hands of a few individuals that the world has ever known. The common-sense point of view about the development of water power is that it should extend across the borders of States from one ocean to the other, south into Mexico and north into Canada. This means, in order to use this power to the best advantage, unity of control. But shall it be control in the hands of a few magnates, or in the hands of the people?

In Ontario, Canada, where the Government distributes power as far as the individual home,



SYMBOL OF AMERICA'S WATER POWER—NIAGARA FALLS IN WINTER

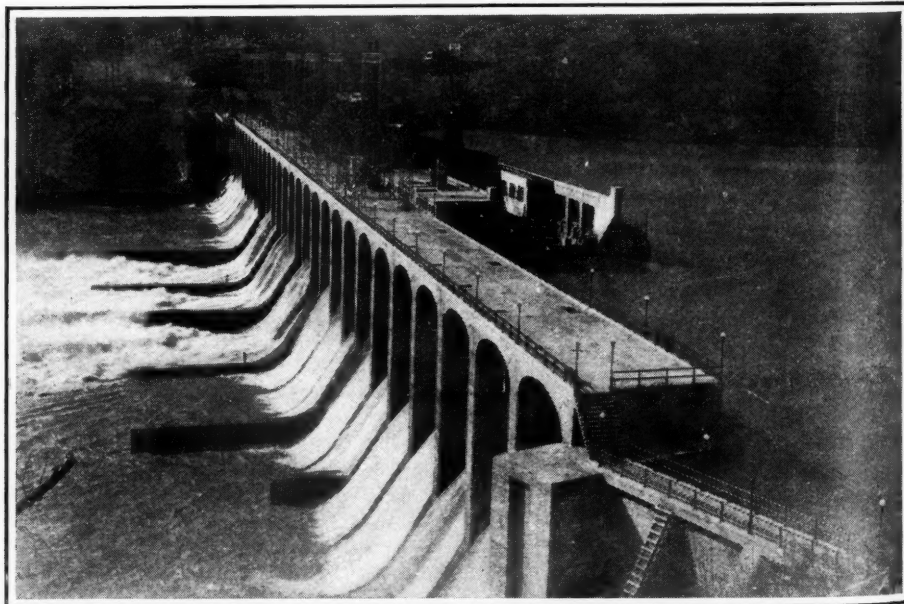
the housewife in the city cleans, cooks, washes dishes and clothes by electricity. Her bill is \$3.55 a month. In Washington, it would have been \$23.18; in Birmingham, Alabama, \$32.00; in Nashville, Tennessee \$40.00—all cities in the region presumably interested in Muscle Shoals. Senator Norris, leading the fight to save Muscle Shoals, cites the case of a typical farmer in Ontario, who milks by electricity, fills his silo by electricity, lights his barns and home, heats them, pumps and heats water by electricity, while his wife has all the advantages—electrically—enjoyed by her city cousin. This farmer's bill, Mr. Norris tells us, is \$115.49 a year, which includes an amortization fee. This fee means that in thirty years there will be no capital investment to pay for in the cost of current.

Four and a half per cent. return is plenty for a government enterprise, Mr. Hapgood says in concluding his argument. Yet the Federal Trade Commission has discovered a tendency among heads of monopolies to make profits of at least 7½ per cent., and frequently from thirty to one hundred and fifty per cent.

On the other hand Dr. Frank Bohn, writer and lecturer, favors private control. A new age

of electrical power is at hand, says Dr. Bohn. Politicians had better keep their inept hands away from all this new machinery which requires expert technical management. That the Government has ventured into the electrical industry already without an adequate knowledge of conditions or public needs is manifest at Muscle Shoals, he continues. Forty-two millions have been expended, yet it has been found that without the erection of large storage dams in the upper river, the plant is from 56 to 83 per cent. idle. "Will the federal government spend two hundred millions more to complete the job? Certainly not. The Republican party will spend the money, if at all, in a Republican State or section. Should it begin a new job on the Colorado and then desert it, in order to start work on the St. Lawrence, in case a northern Democratic president is elected?"

"The same reactionary cry which was raised a generation ago against trusts in general is now sounded against the normal development of the electrical industry," says Dr. Bohn, seeing in such development none of the dangers suggested by Mr. Hapgood. Efficient State public service commissions can prevent the exploitation of



A POWER DEVELOPMENT ON THE COOSA RIVER IN ALABAMA

Although the country has heard little of electric power developments except that at Muscle Shoals, plants producing hundreds of thousands of horse-power are being built in many parts of the United States.

A photo-
Balthasar
Brainerd

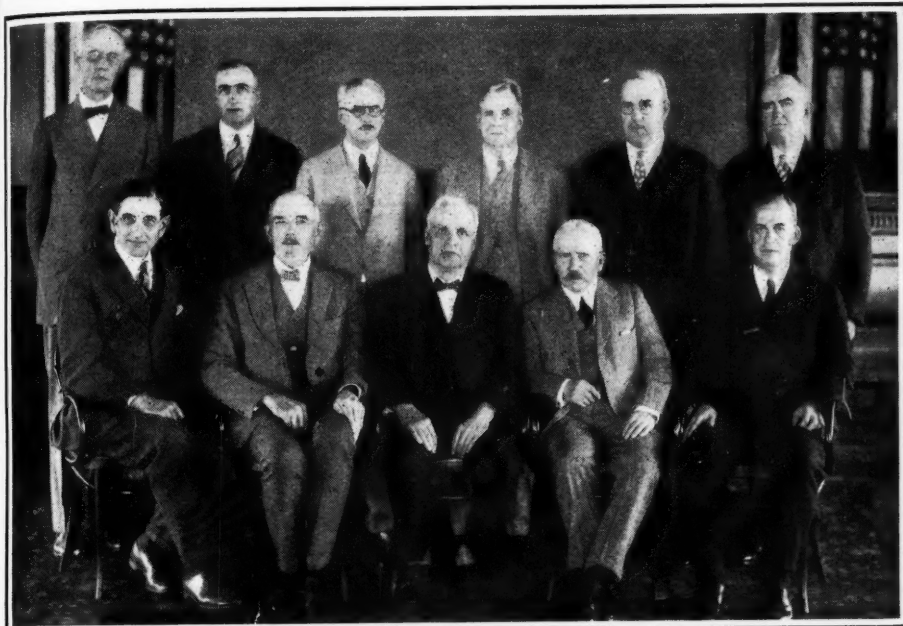
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THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

A photograph taken at the beginning of the present winter sessions. Left to right, front row: Clyde B. Aitchison, Balthasar H. Meyer, John J. Esch, Henry C. Hall, and Joseph B. Eastman. Back row: Thomas F. Woodlock, Ezra Brainerd, Ernest I. Lewis, Chairman Johnston B. Campbell, Frank McManamy, and Richard V. Taylor. Mr. Hall has resigned, his place being taken by Representative Claude R. Porter.

the public at the hands of the monopoly, he believes.

"We in America are now making industrial and social progress beyond other nations," he concludes. "We have produced in this country a new industrial system. More than anything else, mass production is made possible by electrically-driven machinery. Two-thirds of the machines in our factories are now served by current from central power systems.

"Shall we wreck this new industrial system? About the best way to start the destruction would be to turn over a major industry—a key industry—to management by politicians."

Business and the Government

THIS is the day of slogans, and one of the most frequently heard is that of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce: *More Business in Government and less Government in Business.* This slogan embodies the favorite—and mis-

taken—belief of American business men that business is shackled by a multitude of unwanted laws, writes John T. Flynn in the *March Harpers*. We are a nation of laws and not of men, business people tell us. There are more than ten million laws regulating us in all our movements from the cradle to the grave.

But, says Mr. Flynn, most of these laws are for the regulation of the government's own business; many are resolutions and private bills; many have to do with laws already passed. The actual number of federal laws affecting the general public is only 20,000 for 150 years of government, or an average of 150 laws a year.

"If Congress and the legislatures do not enact more laws, however, it is not the fault of business," protests Mr. Flynn. "Most of the laws which control and hamper business have been passed—surprising as it may seem to those who clamor for less government in business—at the demand of business itself."

The fact is that business groups tend to protest against those laws which bind their particular group, and approve of, or even urge, laws which are directed at other groups. "If more

laws are not passed to hinder business, it is because Congress and the legislatures have the good sense and forbearance, often in the face of immense pressure, to resist the organized drives of various special business groups." Dress manufacturers want the government to regulate styles; wholesale houses and small retail stores want chain stores put out of business by law; wool manufacturers want cotton-and-wool mixtures made illegal. The Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission, frequent subjects for vituperation, were both instigated at the demands of business.

Another favorite slogan of business is "Let Business Rule Itself." Mr. Flynn points to the impossibility of this scheme. Does business think that it can set up a state within a state? he asks. And where would the public come in, with every trade regulating in its own interest and no one to protect the public's interests?

"Our business friends are fond of saying that there should be more business men in the administration of government," he proceeds. "What the business man overlooks is that if the government has a business side, business just as surely has a human side."

Mr. Flynn, therefore, respectfully submits his version of a slogan for business:

Less business interference in government and more statesmanship in business.

Business the Civilizer

"FORTY years ago, a boy without enough brains or enough money to get through college was destined for business," begins Earnest Elmo Calkins, advertising expert and writer on business topics, in the February *Atlantic Monthly*. College men went into the professions, he continues.

Now all this is changed. Business itself is a profession, calling for the highest ability and imagination. Moreover, it has taken on a new respectability. In the old days "Business was no place for a man with scruples or ideals. Apparently its cardinal virtue was to get the better of someone. Sharp practice was taken for granted and even applauded. . . . The drummer worked off damaged goods on the dealer, and the dealer worked them off on the consumer, and everybody entered into the spirit of the game."

But to-day "even the most jaundiced observer must admit that business is ethically better than it used to be. . . . It has learned that the only source of prosperity is the public, that on its treatment of that public depends, in the long run, its success. There is no moral principle involved. The change from 'the public be damned' to 'the public be served' was shrewd business strategy."

Following this change in ideals, the educated young man came into business, and pushed the change even further. A business career no longer meant the sacrifice of high principles.

The glamour of modern

enterprise on its world-wide scale, and the new need of the commercial world for trained scientists, engineers, economists, and the like, made an appeal as strong as that of the professions.

Advertising played an important part in the reform of business. Once the worst offender, the mainstay of disreputable and crooked enterprise, it learned in its own interest not to abuse public confidence. To-day the code of ethics of the advertising world is "equal in enlightened selfishness to that of any other professional body and lived up to at least as fully as the codes of the other professions."

Then, too, the glare of publicity under which well-advertised business is conducted is not conducive to shady practices. Standards set



EARNEST ELMO CALKINS

up in advertisements have to be lived up to. Improvements have been undertaken merely that the advertising could boast of them. And all this has been found very profitable.

Still another element in the newly civilized aspect of business is the growth of coöperation. Competitors now know one another. Supposedly hated rivals in business are frequently friends. They have found that there is far more to be gained from working together, for the common good of their industry, than from fighting for existing markets. Relations between employer and employed are also improving. Labor may shout about its troubles, but its status, compared with a decade ago, is enormously improved. For employers are gradually realizing that high wages mean new customers for more goods—the great aim of modern business.

"Business as it is now conducted is the supreme field of endeavor," Mr. Calkins proceeds. It has called to its aid the best of brains, energy and imagination. It is dependent upon the most expert administration, the most profound scientific research.

"The next step," he concludes, "is to draft this intensive training to the solution of the problems of the world." For the work of governing, he believes, could be done far better by big business executives than by politicians.

"There is no country in the world as efficiently governed as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company or the General Electric Company."

Is the Slacker Vote a Menace?

FAILURE of a large number of American citizens to vote—sometimes equaling half the registered total—is causing increasing concern. Several organizations, seeing danger in the indifference of voters, are carrying on campaigns to get out the vote on the eve of elections. In one western city the effort even went so far that every person in the telephone-book was called up, and told not to be a slacker at the polls next day.

"Such gestures mean little or nothing in terms of enlightened citizenship," observes William B. Munro, professor of government in Harvard University, in the February *National Municipal Review*. "There is nothing in our

constitutions, laws, nor civic morality which makes it the duty of any man to vote unless he feels that he can thereby contribute to the greater effectiveness of popular government."

"It is hard to see what real service can ever be rendered to the cause of enlightened government," argues Professor Munro, "by the mere expedient of herding to the polls, with some sort of militant propaganda, a larger number of uninterested, uninformed, reluctant people who go because they are shamed into it by clarion calls to the performance of their duty as citizens."

If it were mere indifference which prevented a large turn-out of intelligent voters, Professor Munro believes, it might be of use to urge everyone to vote. There is evidence, however, which he offers to show that it is the capable part of the electorate which is the more interested in voting, and not the ignorant group. Investigations in Boston, Cambridge, Detroit, and elsewhere indicate that, contrary to popular supposition, persons with some knowledge of politics and government are much more apt



THE VOTING MACHINE IN USE

Failure of a large percentage of eligible voters to cast ballots even in presidential elections is causing concern to students of government.

to vote than those with little knowledge of governmental matters.

If this is true, what is called the "slacker vote" can hardly be looked upon as a menace to anything except the political machine which depends for success upon herding a high percentage of propertyless, semi-illiterate, uninformed and indiscriminating voters to the ballot box on election day. May it not be, asks Professor Munro, that our uplift organizations, in their rabble-rousing campaigns to 'harry the slackers to the polls,' are merely playing into the hands of the boss and doing some of his work for him?

In the same issue of the *National Municipal Review* is published an article by Victor Rosewater which, taking the position that a full vote is essential in a democracy, proposes a remedy—that voting be done by mail instead of by ballot-box.

Many persons who would be willing to vote do not do so, declares Dr. Rosewater, not because they are indifferent, but because registration and election laws put so many difficulties in their way.

If the vote-by-mail plan, begun in some States in the interest of traveling salesmen and soldiers in camp, were adopted, Dr. Rosewater believes a far heavier vote would result.



LEWIS E. LAWES

Warden of Sing Sing, the famous New York State prison.

Ballots could be marked at leisure by the voter, and called for by the postman on the day set by law. There would be no interference of inclement weather, no staying at home because of bad roads, weddings, religious holidays or minor sickness. If there remains a chance for fraud, it would be "no more than now and no more difficult to prevent or to detect."

How to Deal with the Criminal

"I DO not write as a theorist, but as one who has had control over thousands of criminals of every shade of character," begins Lewis E. Lawes, Warden of Sing Sing Prison, writing on the treatment of criminals in the *North American Review* for March.

The problems arising in the treatment of crime and the criminal vitally concern us all, Warden Lawes reminds us, yet they have been most unscientifically dealt with in the past. Now, however, the antecedent cause of crime and the future rehabilitation of the criminal are becoming—and rightly—more important to society than the crime itself.

"To-day," writes Warden Lawes, "these problems are studied from many different angles. There is the investigation of the environment, of the extent of education, of the social and industrial conditions before the crime. There is the problem of the crime itself, the punishment to be pronounced and the method of carrying out the punishment. Finally, there is the question of the release of the individual and his ultimate restoration to society. . . . We are beginning to see the era of crime prevention. . . . To an ever increasing extent, the viewpoint has been adopted that vengeance—call it retribution or by any other name—recoils injuriously upon society; that humane and reclamatory methods are the best protection for the community; that such is not only the duty of society but also its self-interest."

Warden Lawes then sums up what he believes to be the chief evils of the existing system, and offers constructive suggestions:

"One of the most conspicuous faults in our penal system is the inequality with which justice is administered. . . . Judges have but a brief glimpse of the offender and . . . very little opportunity of learning his record. Justice

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PRISONERS OF THE STATE—A MUSICAL COMEDY BY INMATES OF SING SING PRISON

becomes machine-made—so much sentence measured off to fit a certain crime. No physician would limit or specify in advance the length of time a tubercular or smallpox patient should spend in a hospital, and for the same reason the courtroom is not the place, nor is the judge the proper person, with the limited scope of information at his command, to fix in advance the period of the sentence. All sentences should be completely and entirely indeterminate. Men are released every week who should be retained in prison for their natural lives, and men are being retained who could with absolute safety and with great economic gain be released."

Most important of all, insists Warden Lawes, is that every would-be criminal should feel that, if he commits a crime, he will be caught. "Society has never fully realized that certainty and not severity is the most desirable element in any form of punishment. What happens to the child whose parents continually threaten a whipping for misbehavior, but who never carry out the threat? The same is true of the State in its relation to the criminal. It threatens death for the murderer, but it applies the punishment to one out of eighty-five; it threatens long prison terms for robbery, but many are never caught and many of those who are caught, through bargaining for pleas, escape with light sentences. . . .

"When a man commits an anti-social act he must be removed from society, but the removal should be into an environment where, except for actual contact with the outside world, conditions will be as normal as possible. Occupation, education, cultivation should con-

tinue. In this environment he should be confined indefinitely until his fitness determines the time of his release."

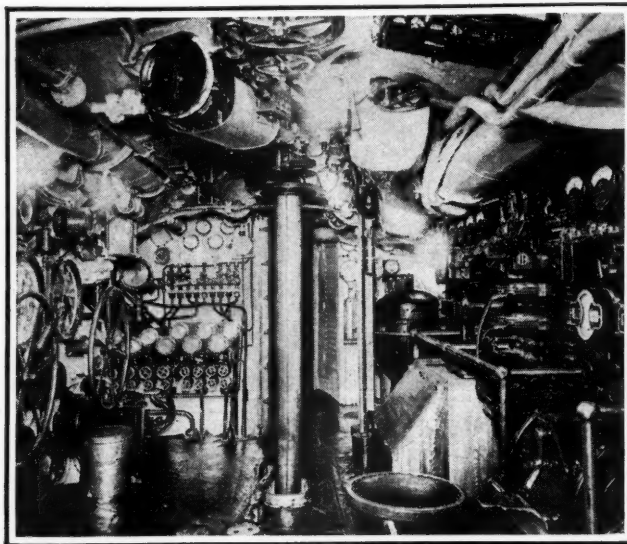
The indeterminate sentence and the development of the modern principles of parole have been the great forward steps in our penology to-day, concludes Warden Lawes.

Even under the present criminal system, efforts to develop a responsible attitude towards society—to "cure" the criminal—have met with astonishing success. With more scientific study and conditions more suited to the prevention of crime and the rehabilitation of the criminal even better results can be obtained.

The Future of Submarine Safety

LOSS of the submarine *S-4* was merely one more in the line of accidents which in the last thirteen years have overtaken, among others, the *R-6*, *O-5*, *S-5*, *S-48* and *S-51*. Because of the lingering death of Lieutenant Fitch and his five companions trapped in the *S-4*'s torpedo room, however, this country has had driven home more clearly than usual what may come in the wake of submarine disasters. And it has demanded that something be done to prevent them.

A survey of the problem is made in the March *World's Work* by Lieut.-Com. Edward Ellsberg, who was awarded a Distinguished Service Medal for his work in raising the wrecked *S-51*, and who took an active part in the attempted rescue of the living on the *S-4*.



THE CONTROL ROOM OF THE SUNKEN "S-4"

The intricate machinery of a submarine, part of which is visible in this picture, indicates why not much space for comfort and safety devices for the crew is available to the designer.

At the outset he makes a point often overlooked by those who criticize the sinking of so many submarines:

"The submarine designer is faced with a hard problem. In the given tonnage assigned for the boat, he must include a specially strong and reinforced hull to withstand crushing when submerged; he must provide one kind of engines, Diesels, for propulsion on the surface and carry the fuel oil for them; he must then provide a different type of power, electric motors, for underwater propulsion and install 220 huge storage batteries to supply the current; he must include tanks for filling with water for submerging and a heavy bank of compressed-air tanks for expelling the water so that the boat can rise; he must provide torpedoes, torpedo tubes, and a gun so that the vessel may have some value as a ship of war; and he must include auxiliary tanks, adjusting tanks, trimming tanks, bow and stern diving rudders, and the most intricate system imaginable of water lines, high-pressure air lines, low-pressure air lines, oil lines, electric lines and ventilation lines. When all this is included, it is easy to see how the submarine can submerge, but it seems amazing that she ever comes up again even when everything is

working perfectly." After the essential operating machinery is provided for, there is little buoyancy left for either the comfort or safety of the crew.

As for means of getting a submarine up again once it has sunk, Commander Ellsberg does not approve the special salvage ship of the German *Vulcan* design so frequently urged by laymen during the *S-4* episode. It was not found successful by the Germans themselves, and was given up by them as their submarines grew too large for it.

Similarly, derricks are useless, being too weak and of no help unless the sea is calm. Pontoons, however, can be used in any weather in which there can be diving. What must be done, in Commander Ellsberg's opinion, is

that our submarines be fitted with pad-eyes along each side—which they are not—to which twelve modern pontoons can be attached in twenty-four hours. The dangerous and ridiculously slow tunnelling under the submarine to fasten chains for pontoons will be eliminated; and if there is reasonable weather, and a trained salvage crew, the submarine will be on the surface again in one full day.

Within the submarines themselves he advocates bulkheads between the compartments that are actually watertight instead of almost watertight as at present. The Commander feels that if the *S-4*'s bulkheads had been really tight, and the doors easy to close in the face of in-rushing water, Commander Jones might have stayed in the ship's control room, and brought it partly to the surface with the compressed air tanks and other machinery directed from there.

Tenders standing guard to warn ships away from diving submarines, Commander Ellsberg believes, are out of date. He reminds us, too, that the last salvage job the United States Navy had off Provincetown was to raise the *Castine*, which had been stationed to warn of the presence of the submarine *Bonito*—but which was itself rammed and sunk by the submerged submarine.

Europe's Security Against War

IN THE *Revue de Genève* appears an analysis of the security against war which has been sought by Europe in the League of Nations and in post-war alliances. It is written by William Martin, widely known abroad through his work as foreign editor of the daily *Journal de Genève*, and it leads to the conclusion that the vast network of European alliances makes war no less likely, and only weakens the power for peace of the League Covenant.

The trouble began when all the powers did not join the League of Nations, according to M. Martin. The purpose of the League was to provide a guarantee that, if any nation went to war, all other nations would unite to fight it. Had all agreed to this action, argues M. Martin, no nation, no matter how well-armed or powerful, would dare go to war. The ideal of security would be achieved.

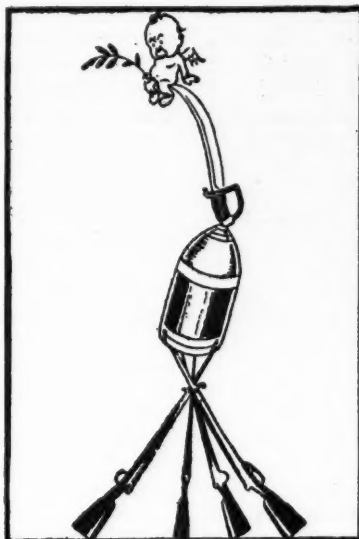
But because Russia and the United States failed to join the general agreement, this ideal was not realized. Russia leaves too dangerous and incalculable a gap in the European concert, and the absence of the United States renders futile any British guarantee to apply a naval blockade to an aggressor. Thus, because the League Covenant was not sufficiently final, M. Martin continues, Europe entered into the present crop of alliances.

In *Current History*, Walter Russell Batsell, former editor of the European Economic Survey, points out that these alliances are different from pre-war alliances, and indeed differ among themselves; there are the main divisions of the Locarno treaties, arbitration and conciliation conventions, and treaties of friendship and neutrality like that between Germany and Russia. They make a fairly comprehensive system of links between European nations, rather than, as in 1914, dividing them into two armed camps.

This fact makes no difference to M. Martin. He points out that the most definite of these treaties is no more sure, when it comes to the test of war, than were the pre-war agreements which Italy, Greece and Rumania abandoned because it suited their convenience. And once there is a breach of the peace, they tend not to bring about unanimous action against the aggressor, but to break the world up once more into two fighting groups.

Moreover, the alliances make it more likely that war will come. It may be that they criss-cross Europe, M. Martin concedes, but they introduce an atmosphere of uneasiness and suspicion. Take for example the recent Franco-Yugoslav treaty. Yugoslavia, rightly or wrongly, feels itself menaced by Italy, and its people see in the new treaty a proof of French friendship that gives them confidence. In France, on the other hand, the treaty means nothing but a demonstration of good will, and an extension of the principle of arbitration in which France sees its own security. But in Italy this same treaty is interpreted as a menace. Why else, the Italians ask, should it be signed?

If it comes to war in Europe, a nation which hopes for security from its alliances would find itself bitterly mistaken. "With the League of Nations, alliances are useless," concludes M. Martin. "Against the League, they are illusory and incapable of realization."



From *Izvestia* (Moscow)

ETERNAL PEACE

Newspapers and the Affairs of Nations

BECAUSE newspapers are the public's chief source of information as to what is happening in foreign lands, they have a vital part to play in international affairs; but they are not playing it well. Such is the thesis of an article in the current *L'Esprit International* of Paris,

written by George Lechartier, an editor of the *Journal des Débats*. Briefly put, his argument runs as follows:

Much is heard nowadays of public opinion as an all-powerful moral agent, an infallible and impartial judge whose decisions confound all who would do wrong in public affairs. Actually, it is not that. It is a hodge-podge of intangible human emotions, a mixture of the uncertain and hesitant ideas and desires of a mediocre multitude. Its instability is shown by the readiness with which Europeans, honest and capable men, felt themselves justified in condemning the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. They did so with as much assurance as though they had been judges with the evidence before them, instead of mere observers three thousand miles away, with nothing but newspapers to lead them to their opinions.

Newspapers have enormous power. However independent a man may think himself, when he buys his newspaper he buys his opinions. The manner in which a newspaper presents its facts and weighs opinions on them, the way in which it emphasizes principles and arguments, and simplifies the confused issues of the moment, inevitably reacts on the reader. His vague ideas become precise, and there is fixed in his mind a simple, easily remembered reasoning, which thereafter he will repeat to the first person he meets.

In this way newspapers create, and lead, public opinion. It is, of course, their aim to tell the truth. But they are made for the public, and the truth has to be made to interest, move, shock, arouse, or amuse their readers. Naked truth is often uninteresting, taking on an appeal only when dressed in attractive verbal clothes. Therefore it becomes the aim of newspapermen to cover truth with thin veils, to disguise it into something a little more palatable, to mask it until it has an irresistible attraction. With the effects of this method journalists are concerned only secondarily.

It is here that the trouble lies. Effects of the popular presentation of truth must be taken into consideration. When a news story or editorial about some foreign nation is dressed up by casting it in the tone of moral superiority so widely used, it does not present an accurate picture to its readers. It only exasperates the nation to which it refers.

Again, why is it necessary to denounce the pettifoggery of this nation or the perfidy of that? This pettifoggery and perfidy, when practiced

by our own government, become a "mature consideration of a far-sighted policy." We like to laugh when our newspapers mention some foreign nation's "apparent desire to dictate to the rest of the world." But apply the same thing to ourselves, and we become perturbed that the rest of the world seems to "infringe our national honor." And what is the use in recalling that some particular nation once disregarded some treaty? Has not our own nation done the same?

The duty of the press may be put briefly into these words: "To interpret the acts and policies of other nations with complete understanding of their causes, so that their significance may be better understood by public opinion, which is ignorant; and to be guided always by a spirit of conciliation, friendliness, and peace."

In a recent speech Foreign Minister Briand of France said, "What an atmosphere we live in on the eve of a war! Impassioned articles, distorted interpretations of events, inexact information, inflamed speeches, a growing fever, and then—the battlefield, cannon, death." Does this not mean that a great responsibility for war lies with the newspapers? asks M. Lechartier. The men who direct them must learn that most international friction and the wars which follow are caused not by conflicting national interests, but by misunderstanding and mutual ignorance which newspapers could have done much to prevent.

What Has Happened to China?

CONSPICUOUS on newspaper front pages one year ago this month was China. The triumphant march of her Nationalist armies from Canton up to Hankow and down the Yangtze valley to Nanking and Shanghai, together with lawlessness and the anti-foreign outbursts, seemed to promise something new. But for more than a half year now there has been hardly a mention of China anywhere. Why? What is happening?

An answer is made in the current *Edinburgh Review* by the editor of the *North China Daily News*, O. M. Green, who sees both an explanation of the present silence and a hope for the future in the ejection of Russian Communists from China. True, only last December there was a Bolshevik uprising in Canton, of which

J. B. Powell, editor of the liberal *China Weekly Review*, says in a recent issue of his magazine that "original reports placing the deaths at from 3,000 to 4,000 apparently are not greatly exaggerated. More than 1,000 houses were destroyed and one Japanese report places the property loss at \$20,000,000."

Nevertheless this uprising was subdued, and to show that it was not a sign that communism had gained a hold on China, Mr. Green points to the support of the Chinese people to the present Nationalist program, which, after a wholesale slaughter of Communists, and the downfall of the Russian Borodin, culminated last fall in the Nanking government's violent denunciation of communism.

If the Russian influence has gone, Mr. Green believes that it has left an evil effect behind it. Its long agitation merely added to the exhaustion of Chinese peasant life, already harassed by the warfare of the last decade, until "to foreign observers it is hardly credible that the Chinese people, merchants, farmers, shopkeepers and artisans, can even exist under conditions which they appear, more or less resignedly, to accept."

China is in acute difficulties, and there is a powerful sentiment which blames these difficulties on the grip foreign nations have on China. The Nanking Nationalists last September declared this as their purpose:

"To abrogate completely all unequal treaties, restoring to us thereby our national sovereignty and our rightful position in the family of nations. . . . The terror of militarism, the corruption of the mandarin, the bankruptcy of our national finance, the resulting poverty of our people, the loss of our sovereignty and the injustice suffered by our nationals abroad may all be traced to the unequal treaties."

To this Mr. Green adds, "Say what we may, those treaties *are* unequal, and no high-spirited people could be expected to endure them in the present stage of world feeling. But it is none the less true that China's recent misfortunes are, with one exception [Russian influence] wholly due to internal, not external causes; and until the Chinese leaders admit this fact there is little hope of ordered government."

One certain factor in the present uncertainty is that, even if revolutionary agitation remains on the surface, there is nevertheless a genuine nationalist movement. It is a popular movement coming from all parts of the country, iden-



COMMUNIST DESTRUCTION IN CANTON

A street scene in this South China city after the uprising of last December had been subdued.

tified with no one party—not even that calling itself Nationalist; and while at the moment it has no recognized leadership or organization, it is nevertheless potent and growing.

Foreigners are responsible for this, not so much by their treaty status as by the mere fact of their presence in China, and by their superior management of material things: "Had no Westerners ever forced their way into China," declares Mr. Green, "there would have been no Western-trained students to spread the new ideas and propagate discontent. Had there been no Shanghai and other foreign reservations, to demonstrate . . . the foreigner's faculty for providing himself with the good things of this life, there would have been no envy, no distracting inferiority complex. We need not discuss whether Chinese or foreign civilization is better. The plain fact is that China's problems cannot be solved without reference to the foreigner and his ways of thought."

The *Transpacific*, published in Japan, asserts in an editorial that there has arrived "a new situation which skilful diplomacy might use to put the relations of China and the treaty Powers definitely on a better footing." This sentiment

occurs likewise in Mr. Green's conclusions, which are that the Powers, acting together, might summon a conference of all prominent Chinese factions—North, South, East, and West. "Half the present trouble arises from the fact that the leaders never meet, but only bombard each other at long range with telegrams and manifestoes," declares Mr. Green. The conference he sees as a means of determining the future part of the Powers in helping Chinese factions to arrange a lasting truce (with a binding agreement for common action against any who broke it), and to form a constitution for all China. The Powers, to show their sincerity, should agree to more equal treaties to take effect as soon as the new order had proved its stability. As Mr. Green sees it, "It is a big problem, but unless it is resolutely faced and grappled with, there is serious danger that China may fight herself to a state of sheer exhaustion."

Uproar in India

WHEN the Commission appointed by the British Parliament to investigate the working of the constitution in British India landed in Bombay on February 3, they were met with organized hostility. There was every indication that the threat of the Nationalists and others to boycott the Commission was being put into effect. A general strike had been called, and the liberated workers paraded the streets with black flags. Cries of "Go back!" greeted Sir John Simon, head of the Commission, as he left the ship.

There are no Indian members on the Commission. This is the cause of Indian indignation, which has been growing in volume and fury since the naming of the Commission four months ago.

To understand the problems facing the Commission it is necessary to go back to the Government of India Act of 1919, or perhaps before that, to the implications of Mr. Lloyd George during the World War that, because of the assistance rendered England by India in that troubled time, India would be given self-government as soon as peace was declared.

The Indian constitution was drawn up on the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford report of 1919, which investigated India's readiness for self-government. It was put into effect later in the same year, but was far from the self-

government of which the growing Nationalist party had dreamt. The refusal of Mr. Ghandi and his party to become members of the legislature provided under this constitution, and their later attempts to wreck it from within by a doctrine of non-coöperation, are well known. Nevertheless the Act had been adopted on trial for ten years, and one of its provisions was that a Commission be appointed before the close of the ten-year period to investigate the workings of the act, and advise whether to withdraw, continue or change it. Friends of India hoped that she would be found to have made such strides in responsible government by that time—1929—that self-government might, indeed, be practicable.

Violent war has been waged in Great Britain and India over the composition of the investigatory committee named on November 6. The arguments on both sides are many and confused. British opinion is unanimous, however, in holding that India has entirely misconceived the purpose and attitude of the Commission, and that her hostility will cease once she understands, as Garvin in the *Observer* put it, "That the Commission represents the very earnest effort of Parliament to acquaint itself with the whole problem of Indian government, and that the coöperation of Indian opinion is invited at every stage."

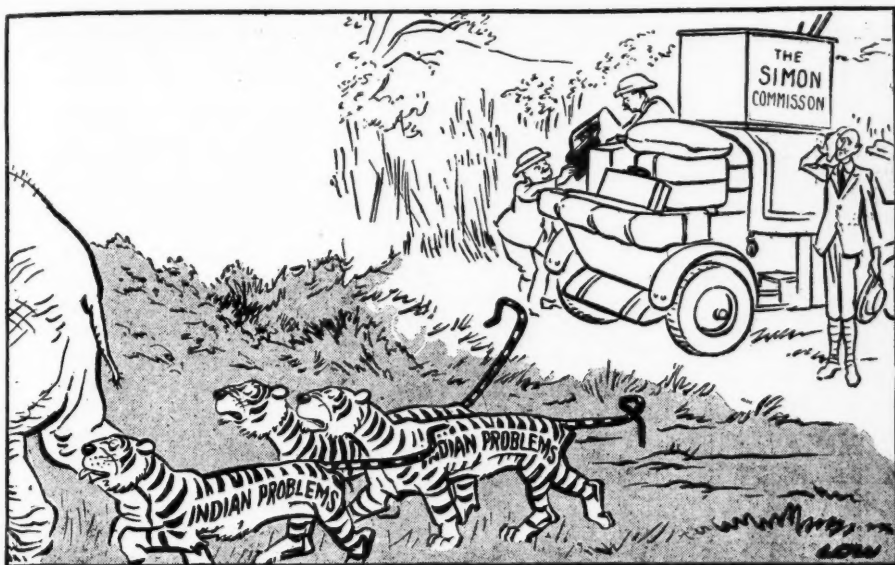
Yet this is the type of "misconception" with which the Commission must contend, as expressed in the *Contemporary Review* by the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair:

"We may be morally certain that the report of the Commissioners will be strongly adverse to India." Dr. Annie Besant goes even further, and is sure that the Commission has been instructed as to the nature of the report it is to submit.

Sir Sankaran Nair admits, however, that should the Commission allow an Indian Committee to work with them on a footing of equality, to tour India with them, examine and cross-examine witnesses, it would deserve the coöperation of Indians. But the author concludes:

"If this Ministry is allowed to wreck the reforms or fails to effect any substantial progress, India has no cause to despair. The next world-war, already looming on the horizon, will make her master of the situation."

In the *Edinburgh Review* appears a thorough review of the Indian situation for ten years past, and an assessment of the gigantic problem



By Low, in the London *New Statesman*

WHEN THE SIMON HUNTING PARTY ARRIVED IN INDIA

The game, not having been properly invited, decide to ignore the proceedings.

before the Commission. Concerning the justice of appointing a purely Parliamentary Commission, the editor says:

"None of the members are known to have any special acquaintance with Indian affairs, but all alike have practical experience of the daily working of responsible government, which is the main question at issue; and they are not likely to lose sight of their primary function, namely, to provide Parliament with the unbiased and objective statement of the facts which it requires.

"It is easy to understand and to sympathize with the aspirations of Indian political leaders to membership on the Commission; but apart from the practical difficulties of representation (Mr. MacDonald points out that Indian members of the Commission would have been nominees of the British Government and their qualifications to represent India open to suspicion) there is the fundamental objection that not one of these leaders has any personal knowledge of what responsible government means. . . . Indian leaders will have ample opportunities of doing what they can do best, which is to place their side of the case before the Commission, and subsequently before the Joint Committee of Parliament by whom the Commission's report will be examined."

The *New Statesman* reminds us that with nearly every leader and political group pleading for united action against the Commission, these parties, particularly the Hindus and Moslems, are continually at war among themselves, and united opinion or really concerted action is impossible. Instead of taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the Act of 1919 to demonstrate their capacity to govern themselves, Indians have failed to see the opportunity, and have taken practically none of the responsibility open to them, deplores Sir Frederick Whyte, first head of the Indian Legislative Assembly instituted by the Act of 1919, in the *Observer*. Yet they expect Great Britain to consider them ready to govern themselves in spite of such demonstration that they have no conception of the workings of representative government.

When, however, India sees that the purpose of the Commission is a real endeavor for truth, protest will soon give place to cooperation, continues Sir Frederick, here voicing the opinion of many Englishmen and of Indian moderates.

Other sources for the facts contained in this article are the *Round Table* (London), *Foreign Affairs* (London), the *Asiatic Review* (London), the *Spectator* (London), and the *Manchester Guardian*.

Japan Adopts the Radio

THE story of how the Japanese nation, which brought itself from the Middle Ages into the Twentieth Century in little more than a generation, has adopted the radio is told in the *Far Eastern Review* by M. So and H. U. Pearce of the Tokyo Broadcasting Company. For some years there was in Japan a government ban against the radio. In 1925 this was finally lifted, and a temporary station, JOAK of Tokyo, began broadcasting. Since then the radio habit has spread through Japan with the same speed it has shown in the rest of the world, until now in parts of the larger cities a network of bamboo poles and wireless aerials can be seen stretching over the ancient tile roofs.

So great was the rush to get this new business that both foreign makers and local manufacturers flooded the market in a short time.

Unlike American broadcasters, Japanese stations are not supported by advertisers. Broadcasting companies collect a small fee each month from owners of receiving sets. In addition the government collects one yen (\$.50) a year from each user.

While jazz music is admittedly the greatest user of radio time in this country, educational broadcasting—lectures, language lessons, and the like—comes first in Japan, with about 40 per cent. of the total time. Next comes entertainment with 35 per cent. But even here jazz does not appear, for in Japan radio entertainment consists chiefly of Japanese music and dignified foreign music. The remaining quarter of radio time is taken up with economic subjects, which include market reports, news, time and weather reports.

Rome Speaks on Christian Unity

IN HIS recent encyclical, Pope Pius XI delivers the following ultimatum to Catholics and Protestants who are hoping for church unity:

"The unity of Christians can be achieved only by a return of all dissentients to the one true Church of Christ from which they unhappily strayed—the one true Church which

to all is certainly manifest and, according to the wish of its Founder, must always remain exactly as he founded it for the salvation of all."

The encyclical is lengthy, and sets forth clearly that there can be no meeting ground between Rome and the Protestant Churches, and that Rome will have nothing to do with such efforts as the Stockholm and Lausanne Conferences, or the Malines meeting.

The Pope has declared, in so many words, that unless we are members of the Church of Rome, we are not Christians at all, declares Dr. Oscar Maurer in the *Congregationalist*.

The Methodist *Christian Advocate* comments: "There are some who will be disappointed to find themselves confronted by this inflexible attitude. Others will welcome the clean-cut and emphatic statement of what they have always known to be the fact. . . .

"Such an assertion of unique authority is hopelessly out of harmony with the spirit of the age. . . . It is unfortunate that the Holy Father permits himself to remain a prisoner of the Vatican in mind as well as body. Contacts with Christians of other communions, and even with the liberal minds of the Roman allegiance, would certainly convince him that the position he has taken is a thousand years behind the times."

"Perhaps for a time at least," writes the *Episcopalian Churchman*, "there will be less footless talk in Anglican Church circles about reunion with Rome on any but her own terms. . . . Pope Pius XI deserves gratitude for stating so clearly the impassable gulf fixed between Rome and other Christian groups." The *Churchman* agrees with its Methodist contemporary, saying, "The encyclical is an exceedingly interesting example of the medieval mind projected into the twentieth century."

On the other hand, in the Catholic weekly, *America*, we read:

"Strong in the conviction of the truth of what the Holy Father repeats, the Catholic world will heartily applaud it. . . . Actually it marks a splendid forward step towards real Christian unity. It will settle the scruples of many earnest non-Catholic thinkers. . . . Convinced that she may not be shaken from the rock-foundation on which her Divine Founder established her, she [the Roman Church] desires and prays that others should be brought to realize the peace and security they would enjoy by returning from the pastures in which they now wander."

From another Catholic source, the *Commonweal*, comes this interpretation:

"One thing is of course certain: while Pope Pius, in his capacity as Shepherd of the One Fold, finds it necessary to explain in definite terms the dangers of what is called Pan-Christianity and to warn against attempts to classify the Church as one of the sects, he does not seek to restrain Catholics from coöperation with others not of the Faith in works of benevolence and charity not compromising their relationship to the See of Peter."

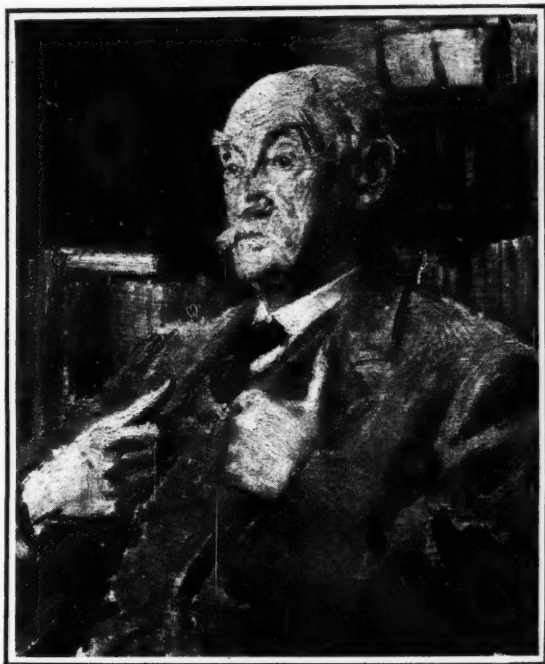
Thomas Hardy

THOMAS HARDY, one of England's greatest novelists, died at his Dorchester home on January 11, at the age of eighty-seven. His death was mourned by Englishmen as a national calamity, and stirred the literary world of America hardly less profoundly. One of the great novelists of all times, and a hardly less distinguished poet, was gone. His work, stretching over a period of sixty years, had linked the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

"He lived long enough to know that nothing could add to the fame that he enjoyed, and that time could do nothing to diminish it," wrote the *London Morning Post*. "He must remain forever an outstanding figure in the great tradition of the English novel," declared the *New Statesman*. "The last of the Victorians has died . . . sure of his place among the greatest names in English literature," said the editor of the *London Saturday Review*. And in many periodicals his friends speak tenderly of the man himself, as simple, kindly and retiring, a "little, great, good man."

With pomp and ceremony, the English nation buried his body in Westminster Abbey at the same time that his heart was buried in the little town of Stinsford in Dorchester. He had grown up in Stinsford, and had made it the scene of his early novel, "Under the Greenwood Tree."

Here, until he was twenty-seven, Hardy had studied and worked as an architect. Then he had begun to write novels about this region he



From the painting by Augustus John

THOMAS HARDY

loved and knew so well, familiar to readers of his books as Wessex. He continued to write novels for thirty years, and then for thirty years more to write verse, in great quantity and "of a distinction, in its kind, unequalled since Wordsworth," comments the *New Republic*.

His first novel, written in 1867, was refused by George Meredith, then a reader for a London publishing house. It was not until the publication of his fourth novel, serially, in the *Cornhill Magazine*, that he won noteworthy public attention. This novel, however, "A Pair of Blue Eyes," was a tremendous success. "The Return of the Native," considered by many his best book, followed. Then came the novel which established him forever in the hearts of his countrymen, and bore his fame across the sea to America: "Tess of the D'Urbervilles."

"Jude the Obscure," published in 1897, created an immense and not entirely favorable sensation. Hailed by some as the greatest novel of the century, it was condemned by others as shocking and outrageous. Although now it is not considered an immoral book, it violated the polite code of the day. As a pro-

test against the public's attempt to dictate limits to the artist, Hardy resolved to write no more novels, and he kept his word. For the next fifteen years he devoted himself to the composition of the great epic-drama, "The Dynasts," and following this, he turned to the writing of lyric poetry for the expression of the religion and philosophy which were so essential a part of his work.

It is his philosophy which has earned for Hardy the title of pessimist, which he never liked. His novels are, indeed, invariably tragic, dealing with the suffering of man in the face of the tremendous and ruthless force of a Nature or God that has no regard for man. The *Manchester Guardian* says of him that "He saw human life as a plaything for casual external forces and for dim wayward impulses from within . . . not cruel in intention, but cruel in effect."

"He towered over our other writers of fiction like a column. There was something columnar in the massive grace of his work, in the solid and slowly laid basis of observation and thinking on which it rested, and in a kind of noble plainness that distinguished it. For he was one of the least freakish of writers, one of the least dependent upon any separable ornaments of

wit, eloquence, and melody, one of those who have trusted most to right proportion and to the final and total effect of a book upon the reader as distinct from the successive effects of many brilliancies achieved by the way. All the time he would be slowly creating in your mind a state of feeling upon which the climax, with its own tragic quietude, would impinge with a tremendous and unexpected momentum."

J. L. Garvin, in the *London Observer*, in one more tribute to this "lonely, brooding and powerful mind," writes, "Hardy is dead: and Nature, as though she had read him, is indifferently radiant."

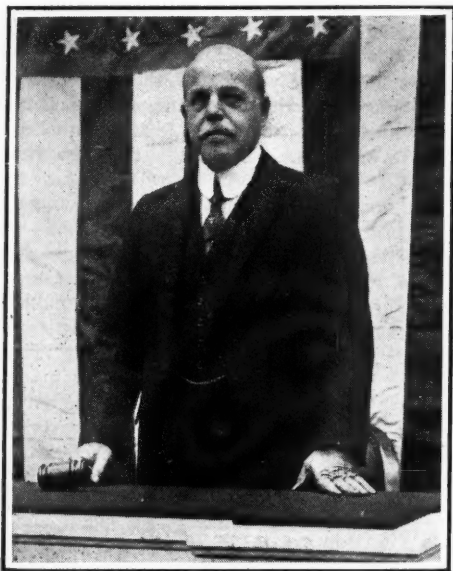
The Speaker of the House

WHY is Nicholas Longworth Speaker of the House of Representatives? What sort of man is it who holds this most dignified and powerful post, ranking next in political importance to the Presidency and Vice-presidency? In the *March Scribners*, William Tyler Page, Clerk of the House of Representatives, asks these questions and gives a reply based upon years of close observation.

Mr. Longworth is human. No other trait, says Mr. Page, so suits him to the place of Speaker. This humanness is combined with real ability, and has earned him his present position in spite of the fact that, married to the former Alice Roosevelt, he is a White House son-in-law.

In order to make the unwieldy body of Congress function with any efficiency at all, explains Mr. Page, the Speaker imperatively needs a powerful personal influence; he must be notoriously fair, he must have sound judgment, he must be a harmonizer, knowing when to compromise. Handsome, nonchalant, impeccably tailored, "Nick" Longworth of Ohio has all these qualities. To them he adds humor, knowledge of the workings of the Congressional machine, and a strong sense of party solidarity. He adheres strictly to Republican party principles, particularly the protective tariff.

Thirty-five years ago, Mr. Longworth, just turned twenty-one, joined his ward club in Cincinnati, determined upon a political career. Nine years later he was elected to the Ohio House of Representatives, and later to the State Senate. At the age of thirty-four he



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THE HON. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH

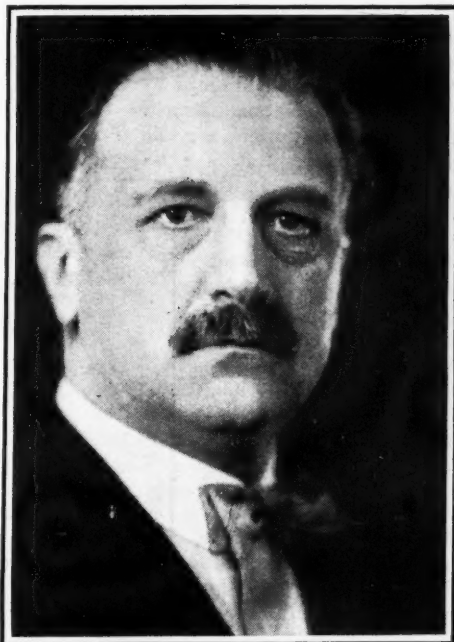
Before the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives, at the opening of the present session of Congress.

went to Washington as Congressman from Ohio. He became Republican floor leader after a long novitiate, and then, two years ago, Speaker of the House.

Mr. Longworth is always affable, easy to approach, full of quips and jokes. Yet the House soon learned that "for all his jolly nonchalance, his thorough enjoyment of the good things of life . . . beneath the gloved hand would be found an iron grip."

He has taken a full part in the history-making of the last quarter of a century, writes Mr. Page. A close student of tariff and tax matters, he has had a hand in formulating legislation on these two important subjects throughout his service in the House, accomplishing work involving tremendous application and wide research.

Introducing Colonel Lindbergh recently to the House, Speaker Longworth merely said: "I have the extreme pleasure of presenting to you America's most attractive citizen." Perhaps his predilection for short speeches is one reason why he continues to hold the esteem of the House.



AMADEO GIANNINI

Giannini and His Bank of Italy

WHEN Amadeo Peter Giannini founded the Bank of Italy in San Francisco in 1904, he should have put down on paper his conception of that institution's ultimate success. He had been a trader in fruits and vegetables on the water-front, a wholesale commission merchant, starting at the age of twelve and quitting when thirty-two. Could his Bank of Italy have been intended as anything else than another bank for Italian-Americans? But now, twenty-four years later, the financial institution that Giannini founded has 289 branches in the cities and towns of California, and it earned a profit last year exceeding \$18,000,000. And there is talk of merging the Giannini interests with Wall Street firms into a billion dollar banking unit.

It seems that this successful banker has a philosophy of life, and especially of business life, set forth in the February *Sunset Magazine* by George Marvin. For one thing, every employee is a stockholder, and 40 per cent. of the profits go to the employees.

In his attitude toward patrons of the bank

Mr. Giannini holds that there is no good reason why a bank should have the temperature of a fish market or the feeling of an undertaking parlor. So, in the new main administrative offices, away went all partitions; and there are no secretaries. If you have business with any man in the bank, even the chairman of the board himself, the line of approach is simple.

Perhaps it was this element in Mr. Giannini's methods that caused his success. Indeed, it was only after similar suggestions had been received coldly in a bank of which he was a director that he had established his own institution. This he designed to cater to the large Italian element in San Francisco; and when the earthquake of 1906 prostrated business, Giannini had a make-shift office open and a receiving teller doing business down on the docks among produce men before the smoking city cooled. Loans were granted readily, and the Bank of Italy gained enormously in prestige. A year later the panic of 1907 found it so well stocked with gold that it could afford to lend the precious metal to another bank; and depositors, finding they could withdraw gold, redeposited. From then on success was assured.

It was developed into a branch-banking

system extending over all California; and besides directing this, Mr. Giannini is president of the Bancitaly Corporation, which earned for its stockholders an additional \$33,000,000 last year, and of the National Bancitaly Company. These three institutions are said to represent the largest aggregation of banking capital in the world.

Mr. Marvin states that it is well known that this banker has resolved never to become a millionaire himself. For instance, you will find in the annual statement of the Bancitaly Corporation \$1,500,000 set aside for the Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics. "Any man who has made money," declared Mr. Giannini to his interviewer, "ought to do something in return for his State and his city." Not by charitable bequests administered by executors or boards after death, but as he goes through life. "Too much money spoils people—always has, always will," he says. "I could have piled up fifteen or twenty millions—but what's the use? That much money would be a nuisance. I'm happy. What would I do with more money?"

Celebrity and Mary Roberts Rinehart

BEING a famous person is not so pleasant and easy as some persons may think, declares Mary Roberts Rinehart, who ought to know a good deal about the subject, having held for years her place as one of America's best known and best loved authors. Any feeling of elation that your little bit of celebrity, deserved or undeserved, might be expected to bring you, she continues, is effectually offset by the cost of public approval—"the demands, the pitiless publicity, the cruelties and misconceptions, the quickness with which that approval can change."

"It is not once a celebrity, always a celebrity,"

writes Mrs. Rinehart in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "The celebrities must go on or go back, and to go back is to fail. . . . They may fight to hold on, but it is that confession of failure they are fighting."

One of the most difficult things the celebrity has to do is to keep his head small enough for his laurel wreath. Mrs. Rinehart tells this story on herself by way of illustration:

"Just after the Armistice I visited General Pershing on his private train in Luxembourg. I was very pleasantly received—indeed, quite delightfully. But one thing struck me as strange, and that was the singular enthusiasm of the general and his staff over a book of mine called 'The Man in Lower Ten.'

"I knew I had written the book, but as it was long ago, and as I could only vaguely recall the story, I began to wonder if it had not had a lasting

quality with which I had never credited it. Not until much later did I learn the truth.

"The general, at breakfast that morning, had broached the subject: 'Mrs. Rinehart is to be here to-day.'

"'Who is Mrs. Rinehart?' one inquired.

"'Mary Roberts Rinehart,' said the general, and looked hopefully around. There was apparently no considerable brightening. Somebody, however, volunteered that I wrote.

"'I know that,' said the general. 'But what has she written? We'd better know before she gets here.'

"And it was then that an aide remembered 'The Man in Lower Ten,' and like drowning men they clutched at it!"

Mrs. Rinehart began to write twenty years ago, when she was already the mother of three sturdy boys. She has spent most of her life in Washington, D. C., where her husband is a well known physician. Her novels number some three dozen, and she is also the author of a number of plays, several of which have been outstanding Broadway successes.



MARY ROBERTS RINEHART

William Beebe, Scientist and Author

A PORTRAIT of William Beebe appears in the February *Bookman*. Mr. Beebe is the man who organized unique scientific expeditions to the Galapagos Islands, the Sargasso Sea, and many another far-away corner of the earth, and who has written of his adventures in jungle and ocean in a way that has made ornithology and zoölogy popular and interesting. This article about him differs in style from the usual sketch of a person, consisting not of an interpretive analysis but of a heterogeneous series of brief statements by the author, Charles G. Shaw. Summarized, it runs as follows:

William Beebe was born on the twenty-ninth of July, 1877, and looks a good ten years younger than he actually is. His greatest fun in life is his work, in which he is completely wrapped up, though tennis and aviation, too, occasionally occupy his attention.

Clothes interest him but little, and he is usually to be found in a suit of rough, grayish tweed. He ordinarily, however, dons a dinner-coat in the evening. He was graduated from Columbia University in 1898. He particularly dislikes thinking about food, but will eat almost anything. He has found the Mexican iguana particularly tasty.

He is the author of a dozen volumes, including "Two Bird Lovers in Mexico," "Our Search for a Wilderness," "Tropical Wild Life," "Galapagos," and "The Arcturus Adventure."

Although half a century old, he can still run a mile in five minutes, clear the bar at five feet, go to sleep in five seconds; and in thirty years he has experienced only three days' illness. He finds five hours a night sufficient sleep and he is extremely fond of milk. In height he is an even six feet; in weight one hundred and thirty-five pounds.

His scientific labors he approaches with tremendous care and diligence, while his

essays are written as unconsciously as he attends the theater. His memory is a vacuum for the names of people, but he knows exactly on which page or part of a page of his vast library any desired fact is to be found.

His voyages occupy anywhere from five to ten months, and are all minutely organized. He takes voluminous notes. The physical zest of work in the field and pleasure of subsequent development he considers the very height of bliss.

He considers the tropical jungle by day the most wonderful place in the world, and by night the most weirdly beautiful.

He would rather have women than men for assistants, is a Presbyterian and a Buddhist, prefers astronomy to sermons, and silence to everything else.

He believes himself, removed from his work, to be of no interest whatsoever.

The Floor of the Ocean

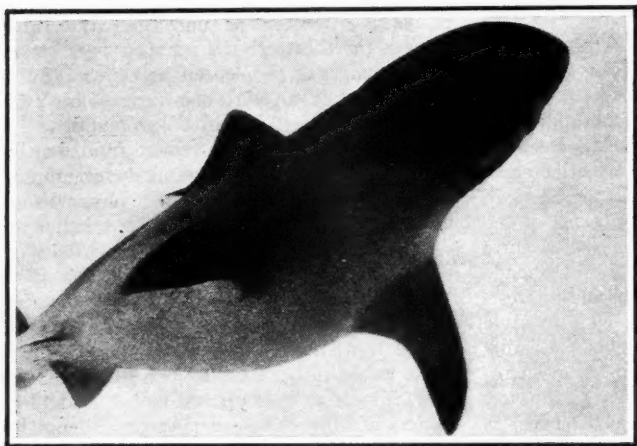
CURIOUS man has explored nearly everything there is to be explored on land and sea; and he has almost conquered the air. But millions of miles of sea bottom remain a mystery. An area bigger by far than the five continents of the earth is virtually unknown.

It is a world of untold beauty, thrilling ad-



A SWIMMER INVESTIGATES A SUNKEN SPANISH GALLEON

This photograph was taken on the floor of the ocean off the coast of the Bahama Islands, with the aid of the Williamson submarine tube.



A SHARK FLASHES BY THE CAMERA

Another of the pictures taken while investigating the bottom of the sea near the Bahama Islands.

venture, unguessed-at secrets, unheard-of treasure, writes Mr. F. G. Jopp in the *Independent*. And he tells how science is beginning to penetrate these undersea mysteries.

Undersea exploration has waited upon the development of diving apparatus and advancement in undersea illumination. Of late both have progressed far enough so that exploration like that made by Professor William Beebe in the Sargasso Sea, or a moving picture such as the screen edition of Jules Verne's "Mysterious Island," have been possible. A beginning at least has been made.

Most active in the perfection of apparatus for undersea work of this kind is a young, curly-headed, ex-newspaper reporter named Ernest Williamson. The flexible tube devised by him enables several men to descend forty or more feet under the surface of the ocean to stay indefinitely. By the light of mercury vapor lamps lowered down alongside the tube, they may photograph at their leisure for a radius of about thirty-five feet. The apparatus is extremely simple, being merely a steel tube made up of sections and ending in a water-tight steel compartment. Where one section is joined to another, there is a circle of hinges, so that the entire tube is flexible and collapsible, resembling a Chinese lantern.

Chamber and tubing are lowered over the side of a specially designed ship which carries the apparatus; then the photographers or observers climb down the tube, which is two feet in diameter, by means of the ridges where

the sections are joined together.

The problem of undersea lighting is still incompletely solved. No light has yet been found capable of penetrating very far down nor for a great distance through the water. But, says Mr. Jopp, "Williamson is now at work on a new light which, when perfected, will make possible the charting of the ocean floor as accurately as the airplane photographer now charts a great city."

Mr. Jopp describes a scene from the submerged observation chamber:

"It is a veritable world of enchantment. Great trees

of reef-forming coral constitute a stone forest with closely interlacing branches, a marble jungle which melts into the pearly blue haze of the watery atmosphere. Schools of fish swim in and out of the forest aisles, each species keeping to itself. As the tube is moved by the men above, an ever-changing panorama is disclosed. The forest opens to reveal submarine glades dotted with coral growths of fantastic shape.

"In the midst of this strange marine landscape Williamson comes floating down equipped with diving helmet. Like some strange monster he advances with gliding strides against the current. . . . He points to fish that combine in their colors every glory of the rainbow, and to flowers more delicate than the finest bit of lace."

The diver must be always on the lookout for sharks and other monsters of the deep. "Once when I wanted a picture of a man-attacking shark I went down myself," Mr. Williamson relates. "I wore only a bathing suit and carried a long razor-sharp knife. I caught the shark's fin and stabbed him from below. . . . I got away with it that time; the pictures were excellent. But I don't intend to do it again."

Mr. Williamson on his trips under the sea wears a diving suit which is "self-contained." That is, it has no life-lines, no air-hose, or any connection with the boat. The only supply of air is the small supply he takes down with him, but this is continually purified by a

chemical called "oxylithe" which is carried in a small tank.

It is estimated that the treasure lost in known wrecks in the last two hundred years totals some billion and a half dollars. That this will some day be recovered is a by no means impossible dream of treasure hunters, Mr. Jopp believes. The ocean floor must some day give up its secrets and its treasure.

War on the Common Cold

THE common cold is one of the most annoying, expensive, and incorrigible scourges of our modern civilization. It is estimated that there are 100,000,000 colds in the head in the United States each year, and that the time lost as a result of these colds is worth over a billion dollars. There are more than 45,000 cold remedies on the market, and the greater part of the nation's half-billion-dollar drug bill is spent for them; yet while some of these medications alleviate the more troublesome features of colds, none of them can be called cures. Science, which has done so much to banish other human ills, has so far almost ignored the common cold in its researches.

It was with hearty commendation, therefore, that the public greeted the announcement by Johns Hopkins University of a Fund for Research on the Common Cold. This fund, totaling \$195,000, is the gift of the Chemical Foundation, which promises more at the end of five years, if more is needed. "An exhaustive study of the genesis, cure and prevention of the common cold" is the avowed purpose of the workers at Johns Hopkins, who have at their head Dr. John J. Abel, Professor of Pharmacy at the University, renowned for his work in isolating the chemical principle in insulin, the synthetic production of adrenalin, and other signal scientific discoveries.

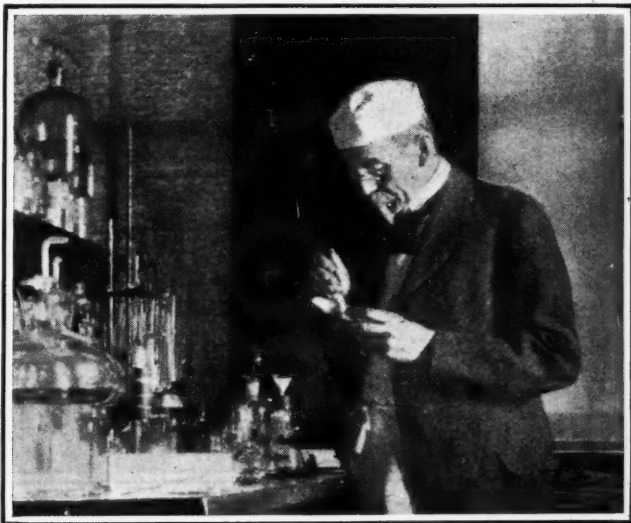
In Commerce and Finance,

from which these facts have been gleaned, we read further that investigations by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company show that common colds involve more disability for work than any other ailment. For example, the average days of disability per person, due to colds, among 6,700 employees for the year 1923 was nine; the average number of colds per person was about four.

"As to the genesis of colds, everybody knows a good deal about it—chilling, wet feet, wet clothing, drafts, exposure, dry air in homes during the winter, etc., are variously blamed. Yet we often catch cold (or the cold catches us) on the balmiest of summer days and escape it after prolonged exposure to the meanest of wintry weather. Eskimos know little or nothing of colds, unless they are brought south to civilization, where they are peculiarly subject to pulmonary troubles. In fact, primitive peoples the world over have little experience with colds."

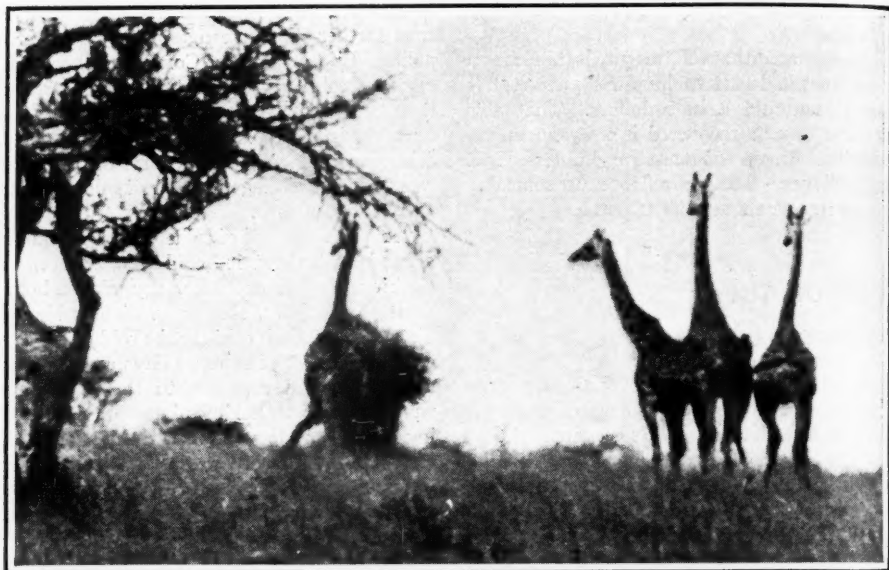
Certain scientific cures for colds have been introduced, such as inoculations to give immunity, and chlorine gas treatments, but they have not yet proved widely successful.

"There is certainly no easy road leading to the prevention and cure of these diseases," said Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins, "but knowledge gained by comprehensive systematic study is our best hope."



PROFESSOR JOHN J. ABEL

At work in his laboratory at Johns Hopkins University.



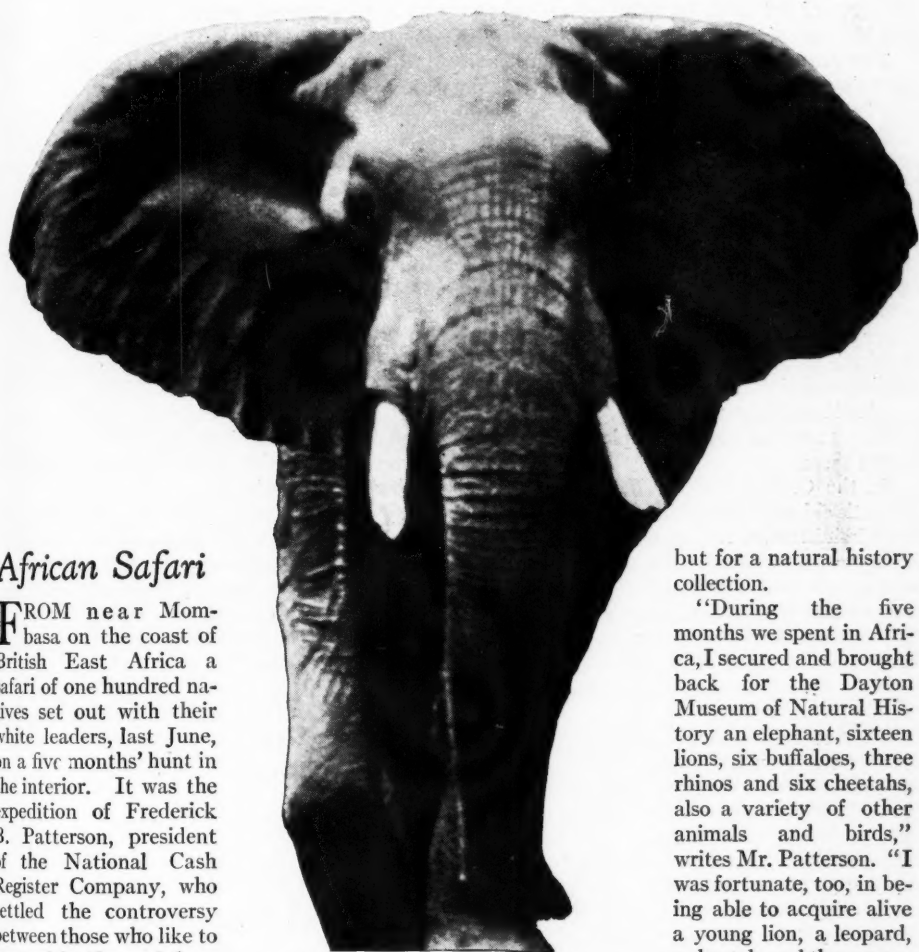
THREE GIRAFFES SUSPECT THE PRESENCE OF INTRUDERS

Great care had to be taken in approaching these animals, since their hazardous life makes them apprehensive of every strange sight, sound, or smell. Use of cameras requires that the hunter approach his quarry more closely than with a rifle, and Mr. Patterson took pride in photographing far more specimens of African animal life during his five months' stay than he killed.



A GROUP OF LIONS CALMLY WATCH THE PHOTOGRAPHER

Mr. Patterson took this moving-picture film at a distance of forty feet. It shows three lionesses on one of the huge anthills of the British East African plains, and demonstrates that the film hunter must have at least the courage of the rifle hunter. It was found necessary to shoot only one lion out of twenty-five which were photographed, although 2,000 feet of film were taken.



African Safari

FROM near Mombasa on the coast of British East Africa a safari of one hundred natives set out with their white leaders, last June, on a five months' hunt in the interior. It was the expedition of Frederick B. Patterson, president of the National Cash Register Company, who settled the controversy between those who like to hunt with rifles and those who prefer cameras, for himself at least, by using both.

"While there is more sport in filming wild animals than in shooting them, the risks are considerably greater," says Mr. Patterson in *NCR*, house organ of his company. "It is often extremely hazardous to photograph the dangerous animals, owing to the closeness with which such pictures, to be worth while, must be taken."

Seventeen thousand feet of motion-picture film were taken, and more than 300 still photographs; some of both are reproduced on these pages. The wild animals that were shot were killed, not merely for the sake of shooting them,

but for a natural history collection.

"During the five months we spent in Africa, I secured and brought back for the Dayton Museum of Natural History an elephant, sixteen lions, six buffaloes, three rhinos and six cheetahs, also a variety of other animals and birds," writes Mr. Patterson. "I was fortunate, too, in being able to acquire alive a young lion, a leopard, a cheetah, and three monkeys." Pictures taken include lions, elephants, oryx, reptiles, rhinos, buffaloes, and monkeys.

A CHARGING MASAI BULL ELEPHANT

Enlarged from a motion-picture film taken at a distance of sixty feet by Mr. Patterson in British East Africa.

A New Center for Spanish Art

BARCELONA, the largest city on the Mediterranean, had until a few years ago no real museum of art. In the center of a region rich in historical and artistic relics, its collections, housed in an old desecrated church, made a sorry show. Yet to-day the Barcelona

Museum of Art ranks in Spain second only to the Museum of the Prado in Madrid.

The amazing story of the beginnings and growth of this museum are publicly told for the first time in *Art and Archaeology* by one of the founders, Señor José Pijoan, now Professor of Art at Pomona College in California. "A few years ago it would have been impossible, or at least extremely dangerous, to tell the story," begins Professor Pijoan, and proceeds to explain why.

In 1905 Professor Pijoan and other members of Barcelona's committee of Fine Arts, without money or public sympathy, resolved to start a Municipal Museum. A little collection of modern paintings and the inevitable dirty casts of classic statuary were all they had to start with. They had not even a place in which to house them.

In the Central Park of Barcelona stood a gigantic old arsenal built in 1714, which a royalist administration had resolved to change into a royal palace should the King and Queen choose to visit Barcelona. Large sums of money had been spent on it but nothing was completed, when the Labor, Republican and Catalan parties secured a majority in the city council. Work on the royal palace was immediately abandoned.

There stood the Queen's palace, half finished, with an accumulation of building materials stored in the back yard, enough to complete the work in simple style. It occurred to the Committee that here was the ideal museum. But the deed for the building had been given to the Queen, and it was necessary to act with prudence. They proceeded, therefore, to take out squatter's rights on the Queen's possessions.

Saying they wanted the building for a temporary exhibit only, and drafting the labor of masons and carpenters already in the municipal employ, they soon finished up several huge rooms.

"Along with the renovating of this Arsenal-palace-museum we started making the collections, which, of course, were the main object of all our activity," writes Professor Pijoan. "One thing helped another. The building, being quite an imposing pile, made it easier for us to interest the aldermen in voting money for antiques; and filling the place with works of art made it less likely that the building could ever be restored to its former use.

"A number of great masterpieces could be obtained without great trouble. . . . Hun-

dreds of scattered objects, valuable not only for historical associations, but also for their intrinsic beauty, came, one after another, to those newly finished rooms. It was not in vain that Barcelona was founded by Hannibal, rebuilt as a Roman colony, and became capital of the Aragonese Kingdom during the Middle Ages.

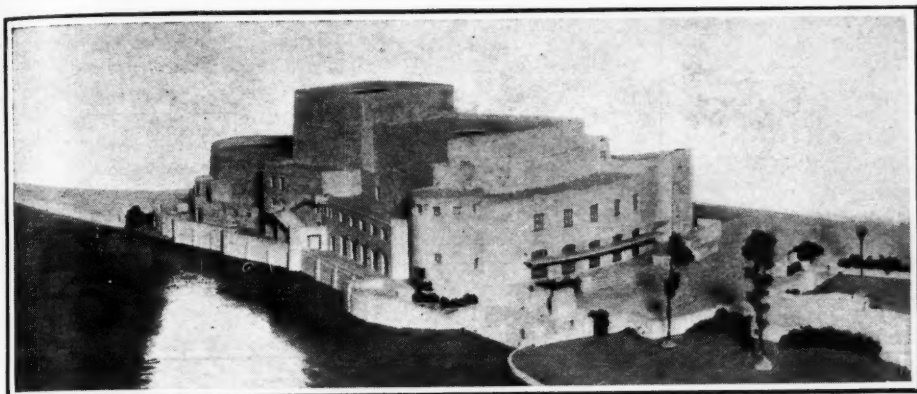
"But we had a greater ambition than simply to make a city repository of relics. We planned to gather there most of the artistic treasure of half of Spain, many of which were still in churches or private hands. For this we needed money. The city voted the sum of twenty thousand dollars a year, and we extorted another sum from the Provincial Council, which fluctuated yearly between four and eight thousand dollars. What little else we had we begged. Nevertheless, in five years the museum became a place of international renown."

By careful search in places not yet known to the dealers, or to which they had not been able to gain access—as in some of the oldest monasteries—by pleading and even mild trickery, valuable examples of all periods of Spanish art, sculpture, wood-carving, and textiles, were obtained at prices the museum could afford. At present it is able to purchase at dealers' prices. Lately the museum has even undertaken the excavation of the ancient Greek city of Ampurias on the Mediterranean coast of Spain.

A Shakespeare Memorial Theater

TOWARD the building of a new and fitting memorial theater at Stratford-on-Avon, birthplace of William Shakespeare, American and British Shakespeare-lovers have contributed the sum of \$1,250,000, and the campaign for funds continues. A competition for the most suitable plan of the proposed theater, open to British and American architects, has recently come to a close.

Miss Elizabeth Scott of London, twenty-nine years old, has been unanimously chosen by the judges of the competition as architect for the new theater. Of the 75 entrants, Miss Scott was the only woman, and the choice of her design has, says the *Manchester Guardian*, "not unnaturally been hailed as a triumph for women." The *Guardian* continues:



A MODEL OF THE NEW SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL THEATER AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON

"Miss Scott is a nice-looking girl, with a neat shingled head and bright blonde coloring. . . . She is naturally proud of the fact that she is a great-niece of both those great architects, Sir Gilbert Scott and George Bodley, and a second cousin of Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, who achieved fame at an even younger age by winning the competition for Liverpool Cathedral."

The plan itself, though modernistic in tendency, has met with general approval. Although her design does not, as one might expect, recall the historical associations of Shakespeare, comments the London *Spectator*, she has "triumphantly based her work on physical appropriateness."

"It is now certain," says the London *Times*, "that the new theater . . . in dignity of construction, and in artistic consideration for the practical requirements which it is to serve, and the site which it is to occupy, will be a worthy memorial of the great dramatist whose works will live on its stage."

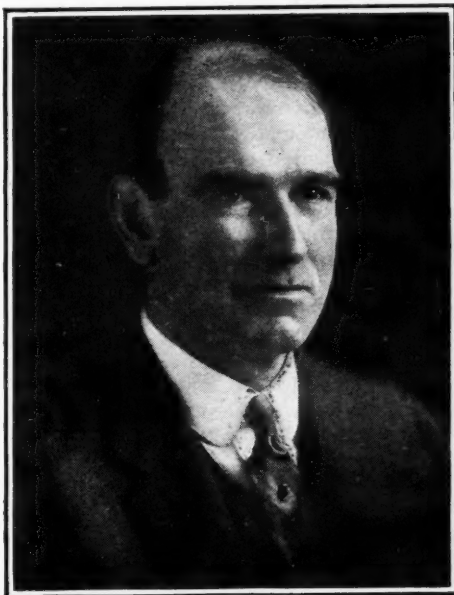
In approving the choice, George Bernard Shaw said that it was the only possible design submitted, a very good one, and the only one that showed any theater sense.

Special care has been taken that every seat in the theater should command a clear view of the stage. There are three stages, an apron stage, the ordinary picture stage, and a Greek stage, for plays of all types are to be performed. The theater will have a sliding roof which can be opened in clear weather.

Miss Scott said that she seriously considered a Tudor design for her theater, but abandoned it for a more adaptable modernity.

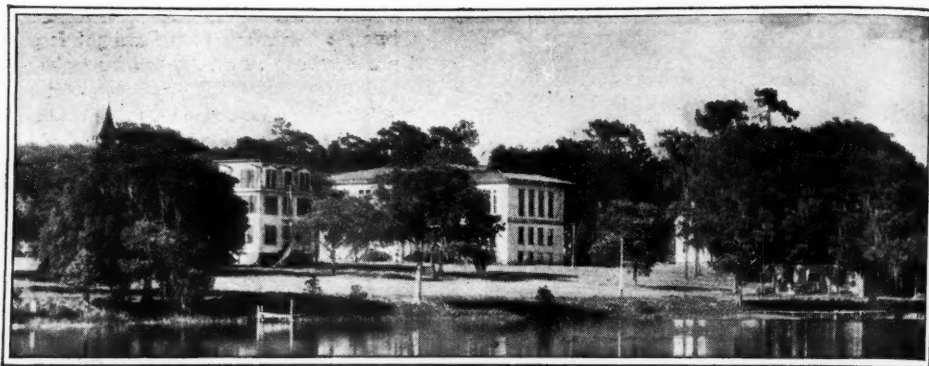
An Adventure in Education

A GRADUATE of Yale, with a doctorate of philosophy from Columbia, Hamilton Holt became owner and editor of the *Independent* in 1913. Two and a half years ago he was chosen president of the new Rollins



HAMILTON HOLT

President of Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.



ROLLINS COLLEGE, WINTER PARK, FLORIDA

College at Winter Park in Florida, whither he went without previous experience as an educator, and with unorthodox ideas on how a college should function. He tells of his experiment in the February *World's Work*:

"What am I trying to do to the American college? The answer is very simple. I am trying to make a college that does not confuse greatness with bigness."

Expressed in concrete terms, President Holt goes on to say, what he is attempting is to make Rollins College a college of restricted numbers, where only those who have the rare and genuine gift for teaching (not necessarily research men) will teach students who are faithful and have capacity for improvement, in the most beautiful environment that architecture and landscape gardening can devise.

Enrollment has been limited to 700, of which it is planned to have about 400 men and 300 women. This makes equipment and the size of the faculty easy to calculate. It can be definitely shaped toward a known end, with no worry as to financing future dormitories or athletic fields.

President Holt believes that research workers have no place in a college, which is a place where students are matured intellectually. Therefore he will seek for his faculty men whose personality will be likely to inspire students. It is his aim ultimately that the teaching staff will be paid adequately, and perhaps generously.

As for the lecture-and-recitation method of instruction, they have been thrown overboard at Rollins. Of the lecture system Mr.

Holt writes that "it assumes that what one man has taken perhaps a lifetime to acquire by the most painstaking observation, hard thinking, long-continued reflection, and perhaps the use of his creative imagination, can be relayed or spoon-fed to another who has not gone through a like process." Recitations are little better, for at most they enable a professor to check up on the work his students have done outside the classroom.

In the present organization of college the actual process of education goes on when a student prepares for a recitation, and not in class, Mr. Holt believes. It is in studying things out for himself rather than in being lectured or questioned that a man learns. Therefore the orthodox system has been replaced at Rollins by what is called the Two-Hour Conference Plan.

The purpose of this plan is to put academic life on a practical basis. Students attend classes in the same way, and in the same spirit of having work to do, as business men in going to their offices. Morning and afternoon are divided into two two-hour periods, in which students work in intimate contact with their professors. The purpose is to provide continuous consultation and coöperation between teacher and taught, as well as to permit the maximum impact of the professor's personality upon the student's mind, at a time when it is most needed.

The theory is that the student's mind is immature, that he frequently does not know how to study, that he more frequently has not the will to study, and that the time when he most needs the professor's help is when he is

preparing his lesson, and not after he has learned it or failed to learn it.

"In short," concludes Mr. Holt, "the characteristic feature of the plan is the free exchange of thought between pupil and teacher in personal conference, during which the student is helped over difficulties, shown how to study, and given an illustration of the scholarly attitude toward knowledge."

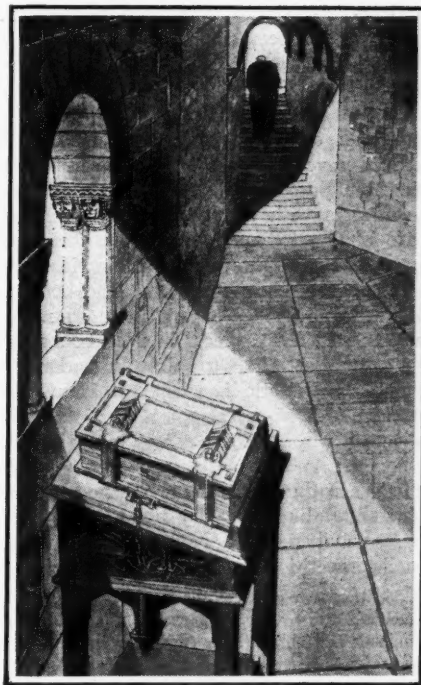
The American Scholar

THIS country is far removed across the centuries from the Greece in which Plato wrote his *Republic*, but the American scholar is rapidly coming into his own in a way that would gratify that ancient scholar. In a hurried, bustling, shifting age in which there is every sort of novel happening and change, the man who knows is making a place for himself as a guiding force. He is doing this not only in finance and industry, but in government itself.

"The notion that all duly elected persons thereby suddenly gain competence and knowledge which they never had before is passing, and ignorance stands revealed as ignorance whether it wear an official gown or not. The same is true of the self-conscious and self-congratulating practical man who boasts that he deals with realities and understands how to make them bend to his will, while the scholar, estimable person though he be, deals with ideas and ideals which the practical man in his befuddlement naïvely supposes to have no reality."

Thus writes Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler in the *President's Annual Report* of Columbia University. He expresses pleasure that the scholar is approaching nearer to the material, economic rewards of life which are his due just as much as the scholastic, intellectual satisfactions of which most men have no notion whatever, but which are naturally his. Yet all is not well with the scholar, Dr. Butler finds, since he still needs protection in his exercise of freedom of thought:

"The scholar who in sincerity and knowledge criticizes or dissents from some well-established institution, idea or practice . . . is as much entitled to that dissent as his fellow who defends what this scholar condemns. This is one of the hardest lessons for public opinion in a democracy to learn. The persecuting instinct is



THE SCHOLAR

A drawing illustrating the isolated position which learning held in former ages: from an advertisement by N. W. Ayer & Son.

so deep and so widespread and the passion for uniformity and conformity is so strong that many a missile will continue to be leveled at the devoted head of any scholar who dissents from a prevailing or a popular judgment. It seems to be forgotten, however, that if he does not dissent, such being his honest conviction, he ceases to be a scholar."

To cheer the modern scholar on his way Dr. Butler offers the advice given by Emerson: "Let him not quit his belief that a popgun is a popgun, though the ancient and honorable of earth affirm it to be the crack of doom."

Prize Novels

BARNUM missed a great opportunity when he did not invent the prize novel, begins an editorial by Henry Seidel Canby in the *Saturday Review of Literature*. "There have been great novels that won prizes, and large prizes have gone to worthy novelists,"

expatiates Mr. Canby, "but the business of prize-giving has been commercialized, and it is becoming a menace both to good reading and good art."

"The flat truth is that prize competitions as a rule call out very little good material." Practiced novelists—"and good novels usually come from practiced novelists"—are tied up by contracts with their own publishers, and so are unable to comply with the terms of most competitive awards, which provide that the prize-giver shall publish that and perhaps subsequent novels. Nor are there so many unappreciated masterpieces in need of a publisher as the public likes to think: "In actuality the publisher's world is afloat with hundreds and thousands of novels of a most striking mediocrity, which drift in shoals toward every prize. . . ."

"If one of these is a fine novel, no one perhaps suffers—but if, as by the law of probabilities will increasingly happen as the number of such competitions increase, it is only a pretty good story, there is that same inflation of mediocrity, that same pushing of the commonplace, and that inevitable over-emphasis which gives a bad distinction to so much American advertising. . . . Prize novels must be thought great novels or someone will lose."

"The second bald truth is that prize-giving under existing circumstances has become just a new means of advertisement. The American reading public, larger and larger every year, and hence almost by necessity in the mass less and less discriminating, craves guidance among the thousands of published books."

So the editor has a competition, and puts a label on a book, saying: "This novel took a \$17,000 prize." The public says: "If it won a \$17,000 prize it must be a good novel," and the novel sells and sells.

"We do not attack prizes as such. We do not maintain that poor books have consistently been given great awards. Yet no one in his senses could maintain that more than one or two of the ten last American novels that have won prizes in the kind of competitions described, could by any possibility be listed among the ten best American novels of the period. Hence—caveat emptor!"—which, in plain English, means "Let the purchaser beware!"

The Hazard of Accidents

ONE person in every thousand was killed in accidents in the United States during the year 1926. The actual estimate is 89,140 fatalities, or 10,000 more accidental deaths in 1926 than in 1911. These figures are from the *Annual Report* of the National Safety Council, which makes it its business to find out how many accidents there are, what causes them, and how they can be prevented.

Deaths from railroad accidents have dropped from some 12,000 to 8,000 in this fifteen-year period. Deaths from automobile accidents, however, not including the toll from collisions with railroads and street cars, have increased ten times in number, jumping from 2,000 to 20,000. This is an increase from 2.2 deaths per 100,000 of population in 1911, to 17 per 100,000 in 1925. It is, of course, the growing number of automobiles on the roads which accounts for this steady increase in automobile fatalities.

When this country's record is compared with that of England, it is found that more than 78 Americans per 100,000 were killed in accidents in 1925, while in the same year only 40 per 100,000 suffered this fate in Great Britain. On the other hand, the British total of fatalities is increasing faster than in America.

Accidents of all kinds stand seventh in the list of principal causes of death in America. These are as follows, for each 100,000 of population:

Heart disease.....	185.5
Nephritis.....	96.3
Pneumonia.....	93.5
Cancer.....	92.6
Tuberculosis.....	86.6
Cerebral hemorrhage.....	84.4
Accidents.....	78.3

Men are more susceptible to death by accident than women. Counting only the males therefore, accident stood third as a cause of death, giving place only to heart disease and tuberculosis. Children, particularly between the ages of five to fourteen, are perhaps the most frequent victims of accident.

As Stated

WILLIAM E. BORAH:
U. S. Senator from Idaho
In a statement to the nation

L. J. MAXE:
Editor
In the London "National Review"

J. ALFRED SPENDER:
Former Editor "The Westminster Gazette"
In a speech to Americans

WALTER LIPPMANN:
Editorial writer, N. Y. "World"
In the "Outlook"

F. H. LA GUARDIA:
U. S. Congressman from New York
In a letter to Senator Borah

EVANGELINE BOOTH:
Commander, Salvation Army
In the "Saturday Evening Post"

GEORGE JEAN NATHAN:
In "Vanity Fair"
In a discussion of modern writing

JULES SAUERWEIN:
Foreign Editor of
"Le Matin," Paris

JAMES J. WALKER:
Mayor of New York City
In a statement to Methodists

ERNEST BOYD:
Author and Critic
In the "Independent"

EDWARD A. FILENE:
President, Wm. Filene's Sons Co.
In "Commerce and Finance"

A BOSTON "DEB":
In the "Harvard Advocate"

If anything could possibly bring on war it is these enlarged naval programs in connection with declarations from the navies of the respective countries that war is inevitable.

Great Britain can do nothing right in American eyes, and the sooner we leave off trying to oblige the disobliging and placate the implacable, the better for both countries. . . . These wretched conferences only provoke misunderstanding and embitterment.

If there is any hostility to England in America I have been unable to discover it. I have searched the horizon and cannot find a cause for quarrel.

The evil record of Tammany can be matched in the history of many, if not most, other American cities.

We have less than one-half of 1 per cent. enforcement. That is why prohibition is so popular in many of the dry states.

To-day, thanks to prohibition, the Salvation Army has the time to improve the table manners of slum children.

It took some time for the public to persuade itself that what was profound might also be easy to read and amusing.

If under present conditions the coming disarmament conference succeeds in beginning a program promising tranquillity for Europe, it will be only by the intervention of God Almighty, for the governments themselves are not making the task easy.

I drink neither champagne nor alcohol in any form, nor have I since last September. My health is very much better without it.

So far from starving in garrets, the young author of to-day expects a suite at the Ritz.

More harm than good has come from reading biographies of successful business men.

Harvard in the winter is one jumble of students shuffling along the slushy streets of Cambridge, with seemingly no interest in life other than the way their hats are tilted or the way in which their ties match the handkerchiefs in their pockets.

New Books

Literature and Essays

The Brontë Sisters. By Ernest Dinnet. Translated from the French by Louise Morgan Sill. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

English Literature in Its Foreign Relations. By Laurie Magnus. E. P. Dutton and Co.

Longfellow and Spain. By Iris Lilian Whitman. Columbia University Press.

Proper Studies. By Aldous Huxley. Doubleday, Doran, and Co.

The Right to be Happy. By Mrs. Bertrand Russell. Harper and Brothers.

Theater and Drama

Fifty More Contemporary One-Act Plays. Edited by Frank Shay. D. Appleton and Company.

Clothes On and Off the Stage. By Helena Chalmers. D. Appleton and Company.

Stage Decoration. By Sheldon Cheney. The John Day Company.

Economics and Sociology

The Automobile Industry. By Ralph C. Epstein. Chicago: A. W. Shaw Company.

Sidelights on Our Social and Economic History. By S. E. Forman. The Century Company.

The Great American Band Wagon. By Charles Merz. The John Day Company.

Constructive Citizenship. By L. P. Jacks. Doubleday, Doran and Company.

Whither China? By Scott Nearing. International Publishers.

Motherhood and Its Enemies. By Charlotte Haldane. Doubleday, Doran, and Company.

Education

Which College? By Rita S. Halle. The Macmillan Company.

A Man of Learning. By Nelson Antrim Crawford. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company.

Oxford of To-day. By Laurence A. Crosby, Frank Aydelotte and Alan C. Valentine. Oxford University Press: American Branch.

A Syllabus on Vocational Guidance. By Verl A. Teeter. The Macmillan Company.

Travel, Adventure and Description

Through Jade Gate and Central Asia. By Mildred Cable and Francesca Frence. Houghton, Mifflin, Company.

Tigers, Gold and Witch-Doctors. By Bassett Digby. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

The Book of the Gloucester Fishermen. By James B. Connolly. Illustrated by Henry O'Connor. The John Day Company.

Men Are Like That. By Leonard Ramsden Hartill. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

The Stones of Italy. By C. T. G. Formilli. The Macmillan Company.

History and Biography

The Immediate Origins of the War. By Pierre Renouvin. Translated by Theodore Carswell Hume. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Jane Welsh and Jane Carlyle. By Elizabeth Drew. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

May Alcott. By Caroline Ticknor. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Alice Foote MacDougall. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

Andrew Jackson: an Epic in Homespun. By Gerald W. Johnson. Minton, Balch and Company.

Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman. By William E. Barton. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Disraeli: a Picture of the Victorian Age. By André Maurois. D. Appleton and Company.

Aubrey Beardsley: a Biography. By Haldane Macfall. Simon and Schuster, Inc.

For notices of current books see pages 18, 22, 26, and 28 of the Advertising Section.